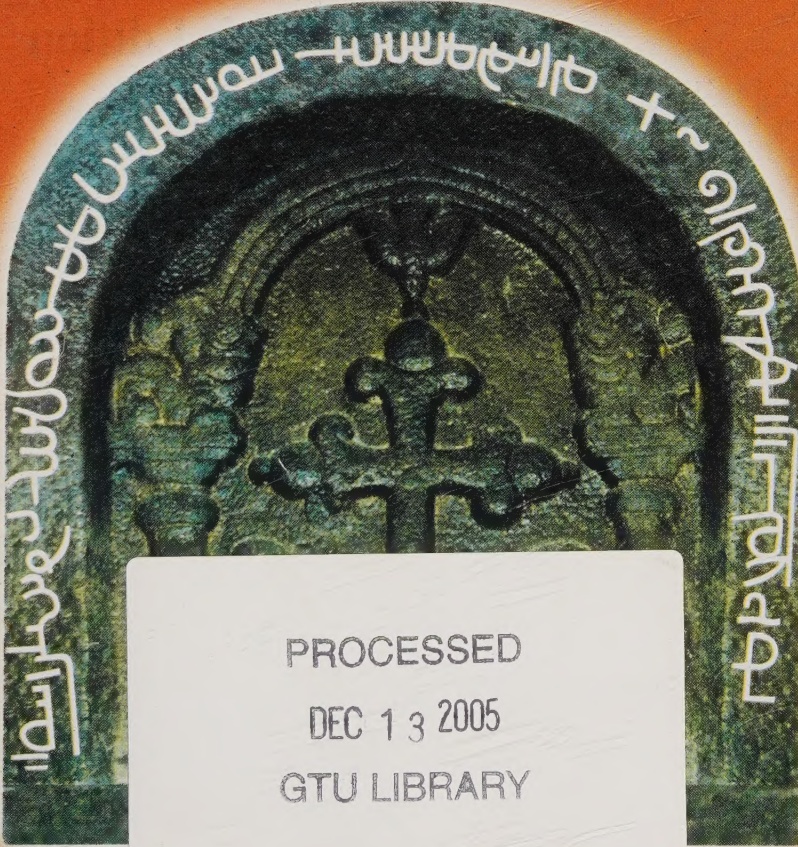


# CHRISTIAN ORIENT

A JOURNAL OF EASTERN CHURCHES FOR CREATIVE THEOLOGICAL THINKING

JUNE 2005

VOL. XXVI NO.2



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## LITURGY

EDITORIAL

PREPARATION OF THE LAST SUPPER: A. Chronology of the Passion  
*Fr. Robert Matheus*

MARTYRIOLOGY OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH SPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO SYRO - MALABAR CHURCH  
*Rev. Prof. John Moolan*

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NEWS & BOOK REVIEW

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Web Page Address: www.oirsi.com

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# *My Lord and My God*

St. Thomas The Apostle of India

*Oh! St. Thomas, Father of our Church  
receive the plethora of multi - hued and sweet  
scented flowers of Faith blossomed on the  
ecclesial tree which you have planted  
in this rich soil of India*



*Foroent festal greetings*

to all our readers and well wishers on the  
DUKRANA of St. Thomas

## A THOMISTIC READING OF THE EUCHARIST

In the Encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, John Paul II of blessed memory reflects on the apostolicity of the Eucharist. Together with the aspects of "one, Holy and Catholic, the apostolic dimension of the eucharist too is brought to the fore in the Encyclical. Eucharist is apostolic in the sense that it is handed over through the apostles, and has its foundations on the apostles. In obedience to the Lord's command and in continuity of the practice of the apostles, the Church celebrates the Eucharist (EE 27). Secondly, John Paul II says, it is celebrated in conformity with the Faith of the Apostles. Thirdly, the Church is continuously taught, sanctified and guided by the apostles till the return of Christ through their success in pastoral office (EE 28).

The Apostolic dimension of the eucharist in the context of the Syrian Orient undoubtedly leads one to St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Asia and Greater India. Infact the early traditions as well as the historical accounts on the mission of St. Thomas in India were never dissociated from the context of Eucharistic Liturgy. The tradition of the establishment *Ezharappallikal* (Seven Royal Churches) in Kerala points to the fact that the apostle instituted seven worshipping communities, i.e., seven eucharistic communities in the Malabar coast. The first eucharistic liturgy in India was celebrated by St. Thomas. The Apostle's preaching ministry was necessary oriented towards building up of the worshipping communities or Eucharist Communities.

The earliest known historical documents of St. Thomas Christians also clearly attest to the apostolic dimensions of their worship. This is a letter written by the lay leaders of St. Thomas Christians to Pope Gregory XVIII in 1578: Holy Father, the pastor and leader of all Christians, We were Christians from the time of St. Thomas, The Apostle of Christ. We participated in the body of Christ and Baptism. Our liturgy is in the Syriac language. We have received it directly from St. Thomas the Apostle." Later in 1709 the St. Thomas Christians wrote to Rome that we were Syrians ever since "St. Thomas the Apostle preached the gospel and baptized our forefathers. Towards the end of eighteen century, Paremakal Thoma Kathanar, spells out the apostle dimensions of the liturgy of St. Thomas Christians: "We have been Syrians and from the time of St. Thomas the Apostle, and we have never interrupted celebrating the order of the Syriac Liturgy." All these documents suggest that St. Thomas Christians have always understood their liturgy "thomastically" and therefore in an apostolic perspective.

The eucharistic liturgy of the St. Thomas Christians as well bears the "thomistic" mark. The Traditional Eucharistic prayer of the Syrian Orient, The *Quddasha of the apostles* is known in the name of the disciples of St. Thomas Mar Addai and Mar Mari, who in turn is the disciples of the latter. In the liturgy of the Mysteries, after the disposition of the gifts, where one remembers the suffering and death of Christ, there is special mention of St. Thomas together with the apostles and martyrs who laid down their lives of Christ. There are also other pointers to the apostolic dimension of the Eucharistic liturgy in the Syro - Oriental tradition.

The other side of this fact also is to be explored. St. Thomas, the apostle led a Eucharistic life. He sought and found the way, truth and life. He was ready to go to the extent of Martyrdom for his master. Infact he followed the longest way - to the farthest Orient, India, and offered his *Qurbana*- the offering of martyrdom there. Only a eucharistic reading of St. Thomas can help us to attempt at a Thomastic reading of the Eucharist. In the Year of the Eucharist a Thomastic reading of the Eucharist help us to follow Thomas the Apostle, who lead a eucharistic life both in worship and witness. Being truly faithful to the "thomistic" spirit, reflected in the liturgical traditions, let us celebrate the Year of the Eucharist in renewed apostolic Vigor.

The Editor

# PREPARATION OF THE LAST SUPPER:

## A. Chronology of the Passion

*Fr. Robert Matheus*

The date of Christ's death must fulfill 3 conditions: 1. It must fall on a Friday; 2. It must fall within the time of Pilate's rule (26-36). 3. It must fall at the time of the full moon of Nisan, either the 14th or the 15th.

The only *years* fulfilling these conditions are 29, 30 and 33. Probably the year 33 may be excluded as being too late because this would make Jesus at least 35 years old at the time of his baptism, and this would not fit in well with Lk. At the time of the first Passover of the public life, the temple would have been under construction for 49 or 50 years, the contrary to Jn 2:20. If we eliminate the 3rd of April, 33, the choice remains between the 18th of March, 29 (782), and the 7th of April, of the year 30 (783).

In favor of the year 29 tradition is cited: (a) Many Fathers<sup>1</sup>, in order to date the Passion, name the consuls of the year 29: L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius Geminus, or the two Gemini. (b) Despite the indications of Lk, they place the passion in the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, which, according to various methods of computation, would correspond to the year 29<sup>2</sup>. (c) The *fasti consulares* of the year 354 fix the Passion in the year 782 of Rome

(AD 29); the Legend of Abgar (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 1,13) places it in the Greek year 340, i.e., from September, AD 28, to September, AD 29. (d) Several Fathers say that the destruction of Jerusalem occurred 40 years (Chrysostom) or 42 years (Origen, Clement of Alexandria) after the passion, i.e. AD 29.

Against the year 29, it is objected that the Passover would in that case fall before the spring equinox. But this is no real objection. A serious difficulty is that in AD 29, the conjunction of the sun and moon occurred at 3:15 a.m. on the meridian of Jerusalem. Patrizi supposes that if the moon was seen on that evening before sunset, the new moon would have occurred on the 4th of March, and the 18th of March would have been the 15th day of the moon. That seems improbable, the 18th of March could only be the 14th day. It is unknown whether the fixing of the new moon depended solely on observation, and whether the priesthood upon whom devolved the fixing of the calendar did not, at that period follow more or less arbitrary rules. This difficulty does not exist for the 7th of April, AD 30, which was certainly a Friday and the 15th day of the

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, Hippolytus, Acts of Pilate, Catalogue of the popes of the year 360, St. Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, Sulpicius Severus.

<sup>2</sup> Julius Africanus, Tertullian, Lactantius, the *De Pascha computus* of the Pseudo-Cyprian.

moon in the month of Nisan (the 14th according to Schoch). But this date is devoid of patristic support.

It is certain that Jesus took the Passover meal, which had to inaugurate the religious feast of 15 Nisan, which took place on the evening of the 14th, since the next day for the Jews began at the sunset. In spite of the difficulty of making the account of this meal as it is given by the Synoptici<sup>3</sup>, to agree with the description of the Jewish Pascha in the Mischna (Pesachim, 10), the syn affirm clearly its paschal nature. It is also certain that Jesus was crucified on a Friday.

2. *Data of Jn*: Reading Jn alone, one would think the contrary. (a) On the morning of the Passion, the accusers refrain from entering the Praetorium, to avoid contracting a legal uncleanness which would prevent them from eating the Passover (18:28). By entering a pagan house they would have contracted a major impurity lasting all week, and consequently would not have been permitted to eat the paschal lamb, even though it were to be eaten at an hour of the night belonging to the following day. To eat the Passover never meant anything else than to eat the Paschal lamb<sup>4</sup>.

b) At the time when Jesus was sentenced, "it was the preparation of the Passover" (19:14,31): The word preparation, an abridgment of 'preparation of the Sabbath',

is used by itself for Friday, but 'the preparation of the Passover', is a consecrated phrase meaning the eve of the Paschal solemnity, whatever be the day of the week. Jn informs us (19:31) that the eve of the Passover in that particular year was a Friday (day before sabbath).

c) The day following His death was a Sabbath of exceptional greatness (19:31). If Passover should fall on a Friday, the Sabbath following it would have nothing particularly remarkable about it. In comparison with the Passover, it would be a minor feast, as were the days between the first and last days. This "great Sabbath" can only be a Sabbath coinciding with the paschal solemnity. Jesus died thus on the 14th of Nisan, the eve of the Passover, at the time when the Paschal lamb was being slain. The meal of the previous evening can then not have been a paschal feast.

*Data of the Syn*: (a) On the first day of Azymes, the disciples asked Jesus where He wants them to prepare the Passover. Properly speaking, the first day of Azymes was the 15th of Nisan, which began at sunset of the previous evening; but since all unleavened bread had to be destroyed between 10 and 11 o'clock on the 14th of Nisan, this day was commonly called the first day of Azymes<sup>5</sup>. It must be so understood in Mt 26:17; Mk 14:12 and Lk 22:7, who is more precise: "the day on which it was necessary to immolate the Passover."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Henceforth abridged as: Syn.

<sup>4</sup> Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament nach Talmud und Midrasch (henceforth: S-B), II, 837, 40.

<sup>5</sup> Josephus designates it so: Bellum 5:3:1; cf. Antiq 2:15:1: the feast of the Azymes counted 8 full days, beginning from the 13th. The Syn follow this usage by giving the day of 14 Nisan the qualification of 'Day of the Azymes'. This feast begins thus on the 13th at evening.

<sup>6</sup> Another explanation: All had to adopt the Roman way to count the time. Probably Mk, when he enumerates

b) Jesus tells the disciples to say to his host: "At thy house I keep the Passover with my disciples" (Mt 26:18).

c) The apostles, carrying out the order they have received, "prepared the Passover" (Mt 26:19).

d) At table, Jesus says: "Greatly have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I die" (Lk 22:15).

But the Syn give certain details that seem to exclude the solemnity of the 15th of Nisan as the day of the Passion. When Judas leaves, the apostles think he goes to buy some things (Jn 13:29), Joseph of Arimathea buys a shroud (Mk 15:46) and buries Jesus along with Nicodemus (Mt 27:57), the women go to buy spices (Lk 23: 56), the Jews arresting Jesus and one disciple are bearing arms (Mk 14:47), Simon of Cyrene returns from the fields, where work usually ceased around noon of the 14th of Nisan (Mk 15:21 par), the Sanhedrin had a meeting and decided not to arrest Jesus or to put him to death on the day of the feast (Mk 14:2; Mt 26:5; Lc 22: 66) and there is no indication that they changed their minds<sup>7</sup>. His trial before the Procurator and the liberation of Barabbas. It is impossible that the Jews would have engaged in the undertakings necessary for the condemnation

and death of Jesus on the first day of Azymes, a very holy day of rest<sup>8</sup>. All these things happened after the beginning of the Passover, thus Jesus was crucified on the 14 Nisan and ate the pascal lamb on the 13th.

*Summarised:* all evangelists agree on 3 points: the Last Supper took place on Thursday, the Passion on Friday and the Resurrection on Sunday. But, reading the Syn, one gets the impression that Jesus ate the Paschal lamb on the evening of the 14th of Nisan and that consequently he died on the 15th Nisan, the day of the great solemnity. Jn, on the contrary, seems to say that Jesus was crucified at the very time when the Jews were slaying the Paschal lamb, on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan.

*Solution 1. Jesus has celebrated the Supper on Thursday 15 Nisan and died the same day.*<sup>9</sup>

*Solution 2. The chronology of Jn is wrong.* He would have shifted the date of Jesus' death because of the idea that He is the true Paschal Lamb (I Co 5:7) to the day on which the Jews immolate their lambs (14 Nisan). Because of that, he sees in the fact that Jesus' legs were not broken, the realization of the precept concerning the Paschal Lamb (19:36). That is the reason why he changes the Jewish paschal meal, which Jesus took, according to the Syn,

a succession of days, as he does here, uses the Roman way of counting: from morning to morning; thus Thursday evening, is according to the Jewish way already Friday, is called by Mk as 'Thursday', so that he gives the impression of being, not only 1, but even 2 days in advance compared to John's chronology. By counting the days in the Roman manner, beginning from sunrise, the beginning of the Azymes was the same day as the one of which the pascal lamb was immolated. Although the Jewish usage was to count the days starting from sunset, one sees some Jewish writers, such as Josephus, call the 14 nisan as "the first day of the Azymes".

<sup>7</sup> For the same reason Herod Agrippa waited for the expiration of the feast days to put Peter to death (Ac 12:3-4).

<sup>8</sup> Lagrange, Saint Marc, 1929, 355.

<sup>9</sup> Gallias Stravides (Orthodoxe): La chronologie de la passion, Paris, Paillard, 1934. But his theory is impossible because against the texts.

into an ordinary supper (13:2). *Or: The chronology of Syn is wrong:* they would have changed an ordinary meal into a paschal ceremony, which is contradicted by Jn, with reason. Both these hypotheses are in opposition to the historical authority of the gospels, and thus unacceptable.

*Solution 3. Jn has only allegorical accounts, only the chronology of the Syn is historical, the one of Jn is a dogmatico-allegorical accommodation.* Jesus died on 15 Nisan, the Jewish Pascha: but Jn makes Him to die on 14 Nisan, the day on which the paschal lamb was immolated, to show that He is the paschal lamb of the NT, that He has taken the place of the victim of the Jewish Pascha (I Co 5:7). This explanation is a-historical: it ignores the data of the Syn which these exegetes accept as historical. If Jesus had died on 15 Nisan and it was then Easter, why did so many Jews not observe the rest of the feast, as the Syn tell us? Would the Syn also be allegorical? If, according to the Syn Jesus had died on 15 Nisan and had taken the paschal meal the evening of the 14th, then had Jn, the evangelist of 'the Bread of Life' an allegorical motivation to follow this chronology rather than changing it: Jesus would have instituted the Eucharist at the time when the Jews took the paschal meal, and the Eucharist is the rite, which substitutes in the Church for all the Jewish sacrifices. But now Jn, according to his custom, changed partially this chronology

and has exposed more clearly what the Syn had only indicated vaguely. Is he not rather a beloved witness, rather than the so-called allegorical writer?

*Solution 4. Jesus and the Jews ate the Passover on the same day: the legal day, the evening of the 14th of Nisan and Jesus was crucified on the 15th of Nisan, the day of the Paschal solemnity<sup>10</sup>.*

The proponents resolve the doubts on the texts in which the Syn seem to exclude Passover as the day of Jesus' death: the incompatibility between the acts and Easter is less real than one supposes. The prescribed rest for feasts was less strict then that for the Sabbath<sup>11</sup>; the Talmud<sup>12</sup> allows on feasts all urgent purchasing at the condition that one pays after the feast; judgments were not forbidden on feasts, at least the criminal cases: one required only that the judges would not write the sentence on the feast<sup>13</sup>, the Sanhedrin could in exceptional and urgent circumstances meet on feasts and pronounce condemnations to death; capital punishments were sometimes reserved on big solemnities in order to inspire in the people a salutary fear<sup>14</sup>; the Romans, not the Jews, crucified Jesus; Simon of Cyrene did not return from labor in the fields.

Regarding the texts of Jn: To 'eat the passover' (18:28) does not mean only to eat the paschal lamb, it can also mean the chagiga, the festal sacrifice that was immolated every

<sup>10</sup> Catholics Patrizi and Corluy; Protestants Zahn and Edersheim. Claimed for this opinion are Augustine, Jerome, Bede and Innocent III, but these only say that Jesus ate the passover on the evening of the 14th of Nisan without concerning themselves with what the other Jews did or did not do.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Patrizzi, de Evangel., 512.

<sup>12</sup> Hilcoth Jom Tob. c.4, § 20.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Lightfoot, Hor. talm. in Matth. XXVII,5.

<sup>14</sup> Mischna c.10 §§ 3-4

day during the octave. The Sabbath is called a great sabbath (19:31) because it fell in the octave. The 'parasceve of the passover' is not only the eve of the paschal solemnity. It can be "the eve of Easter" or the eve of the Saturday which comes in the octave of easter or Easterfriday. (This is opposed to all studies of rabbinic customs). "Before the feast" (13:1) means before the big day of the solemnity (15 nisan), i.e., the evening of 14 nisan or the first day of the azymes, according to the way of speaking of the Syn.

*Solution 5. Jesus did not eat the Passover on the same day as the other Jews, but a day before them.*

*System 1. The Last Supper, celebrated by Jesus on the evening of the 13th of Nisan, was not a Passover, but a farewell meal.*

Up to the end of the 3rd century, no author affirms the contrary, but they cannot be quoted as a group. Justin and Irenaeus say only that the Paschal lamb is the type of Christ, fulfilled in His death: "Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus", which is true whatever opinion be adopted as to the day of his death, but much more strikingly so if Jesus was crucified at the time when the Jews were slaying the Paschal lamb.

Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Chronicon Paschale, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Peter of Alexandria, Ambrosiaster, a discourse falsely attributed to John Chrysostom and some Quartodecimans<sup>15</sup> say that Jesus was

crucified on the 14th of Nisan at the time when the Jews were slaying the lamb and that in that year he did not celebrate the Passover because he was himself the true Passover. Relying on Jn, they affirm that Jesus died on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, and at that time they were accustomed to break their fast and to inaugurate the Easter festival. They believe, like the proponents of the first solution, that Jesus was crucified on the following day, the 15th of Nisan. It was to refute them that Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus and the Chronicon Paschale wrote. The Greek Church follows this opinion, which has real extrinsic probability, but is difficult to reconcile with the Syn.

Calmet (18th C) and Lamy: the Last supper is an ordinary meal, celebrated on the 13th of Nisan. According to Ex 12: 22, it was prescribed to stay the whole night following the Eastermeal in the place where it was celebrated. Since we see Jesus leaving the cenacle with His apostles soon after the supper, it is clear that it was not the legal supper.<sup>16</sup> Answers. 1. The rabbins teach that the prescription to stay in the room was only valid for the night of the first Pascha. There was then a special reason not to go out: the exterminating angel ravaging the land; but later, since this motive did not exist anymore, the prescription ceased to be valid<sup>17</sup>. 2. The syn speak of a real celebration of Easter.

<sup>15</sup> They differed from Catholics only about the day on which Easter was to be celebrated. They are not to be confused with the Judaizing Quartodecimans who, relying on Mt, celebrated on the evening of the 14th of Nisan a supper after the Jewish manner to commemorate the Last Supper.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. D. Calmet, Dissert. sur la Dern. Pâque; Theile, über die letzte Mahlz. Jesu, Neues krit. Journal der theol. Literat. 824, t.2, 161; F. Tillmann, Das Johannesevangelium, Bonn, 1931, 310s: Jn 18:28 speaks only of a meal in the Easter time.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Lightfoot, De minister. templi, c.12; Bynaeus, De morte J. Chr., c.2, 21.

*System 2. The Last Supper celebrated by Jesus on the 13th of Nisan was an anticipated Passover or a Passover of 'intention' or 'imitation'.*

Mt 26:18 has kept for us, in Jesus' message to the master of the house, a word that merits to be weighed: "My time draws near, I am to celebrate the Passover with My disciples in your house". One realises Jesus' thought only when one sees in these words the enigmatic indication of the obligation in which He finds Himself, because of the nearness of His death, to anticipate the celebration of the Passover. My death is imminent; it will be too late for Me to celebrate the Passover; so that I celebrate it in Your house this evening with My disciples. It is an invitation to the owner to prepare on the spot itself the room and all what is necessary for the meal. The 2 disciples had to make, together with the host, all the preparations. Without doubt, the lamb could not be immolated that evening in the temple; but Jesus, being excommunicated with all His adherents and even already the object of a decree of arrest from the Sanhedrin (Jn 11:53), could He have caused a lamb to be immolated for Him on the next day, in the official way? It is improbable. He liberated Himself thus from the usual form and the way, just as He liberated Himself also from the law concerning the day. What obliged Him was the decision of the Sanhedrin to bring Him to death before the feast (Mt 26:5). (Godet, Saint Luc, II, 342ss).

This hypothesis is not unlikely, but it brings up objections: such an anticipation of the Passover would have surprised strongly the disciples, but they seem not be conscious of that.

There remains but one solution of the

difficulty. It is to recognize that Jesus did not eat the real, the legal Passover, which could not have taken place until the morrow, but a Passover of 'intention' or 'imitation.' Wishing to be immolated at the same time as the Paschal lamb, he had resolved to anticipate the commemorative feast of the past and to inaugurate the banquet of the future. (LeCamus, Vie de NSJC, III, 1921, 183).

Fouard thinks that Jesus retained all that he could of the Mosaic ritual: the Azymes, the bitter herbs, the haroseth sauce, but without the Paschal lamb, which could not be slain on the 13th.

If this supposition (of a Passover without a Paschal Lamb) seems too bold, we have then no recourse, except to presume that Jesus caused the Paschal Lamb to be immolated by His disciples without first presenting it in the Temple. Lord and Master of the Passover, even as of the Sabbath, He could alter this particular point in a system which He was now about to abrogate, when instituting the sacrifice of the New Covenant. (Fouard, Vie de NSJC, II, 1911, 459).

Grotius makes a distinction between a commemorative paschal supper and a legal meal. Christ, in the prevision that He was going to die on the 14th and that He would not be able to eat the paschal lamb with His people, would have anticipated the usual supper of one day. Answer. A paschal meal without the strictly prescribed lamb would have been meaningless; now, the paschal lambs were immolated in the temple only on 14 nisan. Nothing in the accounts of the Syn indicates an anticipation. The meal about which they speak took place on the usual day with all the ceremonies required by the Law.

Hug: The Galileans had adopted the custom to eat the paschal lamb from the evening of 13 nisan on: Jesus, being from Galilea, would have profited on the year of His death of the privilege of His compatriots. Answer. The Talmud says only that in Galilea all work was interrupted from the evening of 13 nisan on, without adding anything else.

*System 3. The supper was neither a Paschal feast nor an ordinary meal, but a Qiddush (a more solemn meal taken on the day before the Sabbath or a great feast, in the evening).*

The evangelists make no single allusion to the ceremonies of the paschal meal (paschal Lamb, the bitter herbs, etc). Instead of 4 cups, they speak only of 1 (Mt, Mk) or 2 (Lk). Jesus would have taken a Qiddoesj, a blessing of bread and wine, on the eve of a Sabbath or an important feast. If it was so, it would have been the Qiddoesj of Easter, which would have been followed by the paschal meal. The fact that there is no allusion to the paschal ceremonies is understandable: the evangelists considered them as known or as without importance for the readers.<sup>18</sup>

The texts of the Syn. are fatal to these 3 systems. Everything in their accounts proves that it was a legal meal. Jesus ate the Passover and He did it on the day when "it was necessary to immolate it," on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, the "first day of Azymes." (cf. p.2, data of Jn).

*System 4. Jesus ate the Passover on the legal day, the evening of the 14th of Nisan; but the Jews, anxious to put him to death, put off the Passover until the following day.*

The Jews willfully violated this law, as they had violated so many other laws, to rid themselves of Jesus as soon as possible, now that he had fallen into their hands<sup>19</sup>. This hypothesis is a-historical since it ignores the obstinate attachment of Jesus' adversaries to their traditions. This transfer could not be decided and imposed on the big crowds in a few hours time.

*System 5. In that year, the Jews, by virtue of the arbitrary law of badu, had fixed the slaying of the Paschal Lamb on the 15th of Nisan, while Jesus kept the Passover on the legal day, the evening of the 14th.<sup>20</sup>*

But this rule is not earlier than the 4th century. There is no trace of it in Jesus' time. The Mishnah has no suspicion of it since in several passages it mentions cases in which the paschal solemnity falls on Friday and is not transferred to Saturday, as the rule of badu would require. The hypothesis is thus untenable.

*System 6. He is the Lord of all.* Answer. But the disciples didn't show the least little surprise on the topic of the choice of the day and the syn show that it was the day fixed by the Law.

<sup>18</sup> This theory has been exposed by M. Box, *The Jewish antecedents of the Eucharist*, J.T.S., 3 (1902) 357-69; Battifol, in his *Eucharistie*, followed it in the first editions, but abandoned it from the 4th edition on, 133. This hypothese has been taken up again by W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, Oxford, 1925, 156-93. It cannot be followed, cf. Lagrange, S. Marc, 358.

<sup>19</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea: *De sollemnitate paschali* 12, John Chrysostom, Knabenbauer, who confuses it with the following system. Badu: nomads of the desert.

<sup>20</sup> Abbot Rupert (12th C). Paul of Burgos (15th C, converted Jew), Salmeron, Jansenius of Ghent, Maldonatus, Estius, Cornely.

*Solution 6. In the year of Christ's death, there was a disagreement between the Pharisees and Sadducees about the fixing of the date of the Passover, and they celebrated it on two consecutive days.*

This solution alone satisfactorily harmonizes Jn and Syn. (1) Jesus ate the Passover on the 14th of Nisan with a portion of the Jews. (2) This was the legal day, but because of a disorder introduced into the calendar, another portion of the Jews did not eat the Passover until the following day. (3) It makes little difference what the cause of the confusion was, a difference of computation or because of the affluence of strangers, provided that its existence be established.

Petau<sup>21</sup> says that in the year of the death of the Savior, the Jews would have celebrated the Passover on 2 consecutive days, 14 and 15 nisan, out of fear that some error would have incurred in the fixation of the solemnity because of the differences that existed between the civil and the astronomical year. Jesus seems to have decided in favor of the 14th, therefore His celebration of the legal supper in the evening of the 13th; but most of the Jews chose the 15th. But these are conjectures without serious foundation. Nevertheless, one has to recognize that the

Jews, for the computation of the time, had no astronomical or scientific method, but an empirical one. Their months were lunar. Now, the moon does not turn around the earth and around her own axis in a round number of days, but in 29 days, 12 hours and 44 minutes. On the other hand the Jews had nothing but the naked eye to discover the first twilight of the new moon. One should not be surprised that all were not unanimous on the question of the first day of the month. But among the Jews the new moon was announced by trumpets (Nm 10,10) and big fires, lighted on the tops of the mountains, to spread the news in the country so that one cannot easily err. Nevertheless, the Jewish experts Klausner and Billerbeck declare that such was the most likely solution. "A mistake of one day was quiet possible, until the time that the Jews had definitively fixed the system to determine the new moon"<sup>22</sup>.

Chwolson<sup>23</sup>: In conformity with the letter of the law and with ancient usage, the slaying of the Paschal lamb must take place "between the 2 evenings" (Ex 12:6<sup>24</sup>; Dt 16:6), between sunset (6 pm) and the moment when the first 3 stars were perceptible in the sky (7.30 pm). This was the understanding of the Sadducees,

<sup>21</sup> Petau depends upon an obscure text of Epiphanius, from which not much can be drawn, but his 3 assertions are to be retained, since this is the direction taken by contemporary Jewish scholars and experts in Rabbinical lore.

<sup>22</sup> Klausner 326; zie S B 11. 847 853.

<sup>23</sup> Chwolson: Das Letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes, Leipzig 1908.

<sup>24</sup> Ex 12:3-16: "On the 10th of this month every one of your families must procure for itself a lamb... You shall keep it until the 14th day of this month, and then, with the whole assembly of Israel present, it shall be slaughtered during the evening 'between the 2 evenings'... That same night they shall eat its roasted flesh with unleavened bread and bitter herbs... This is how you are to eat it: with your loins girt, sandals on your feet and your staff in hand, you shall eat like those who are in flight. It is the Passover of the Lord... For 7 days you must eat unleavened bread. From the first day you shall have your houses clear of all leaven... On the first day you shall hold a sacred assembly and likewise on the 7th. On these days you shall not do any sort of work..."

Karaïtes<sup>25</sup> and Samaritans. But when the 14th of Nisan fell on a Friday, it was impossible to slay the lamb in the Temple and to cook it at home without violating the Sabbath, the twilight being short in Palestine. In this case, the lamb was slain on the 13th of Nisan, and some (the Pharisees, Jesus and the people) ate it the same day to obey the law of Ex 12:8, while others (the Sadducees) postponed the eating of it to the following day, the 14th of Nisan, to conform to another law of Ex 12:6.

This hypothesis is open to dispute. Even from Jesus' time, the Pharisees had adopted the custom of beginning the slaying of the Lamb at 3 p.m. and, according to the Mishnah, even at 2.30 when the following day was a Sabbath, as Philo and Josephus tell us. It cannot be admitted that the Jews would have *slain* and eaten the Paschal lamb on a day which they knew to be the 13th of Nisan, when the Law of Moses was so formal on this point. However, the Pharisees and Sadducees may have differed about the date of the *eating* of the Lamb.

Klausner modifies Chwolson's theory: A tradition (halakah), raised to a principle by the Pharisees in the time of Hillel (25 BC) and entered in the Mischna, taught that *the Passover*, since it was a public sacrifice, *took precedence over the Sabbath*; the Sadducees, on the contrary, faithful to ancient custom, considered it to be a private sacrifice which would yield to the Sabbath. They understood the regulation about the time of immolation, "between the 2

evenings" in the strict sense as the brief interval of Jerusalem twilight. When the 15th of Nisan fell on a Saturday, they slew the Paschal lamb, not on the 14th of Nisan, which would involve a violation of a Sabbath already begun, but on the 13th of Nisan. They ate the lamb the same evening, together with the obligatory accompaniments of unleavened bread and bitter herbs. According to this theory, Jesus followed the practice of the priestly caste (Sadducees) who were in possession of authority (for Chwolston He followed rather the Pharisees).

It is not clear if the Sadducees and all Pharisees followed this principle. After the year 70 the Pharisees of the school of Hillel took the upperhand. Forty years before it was the Sadducees who decided everything in the temple. If they wanted to keep the 2 principles, that the lambs could only be immolated at the twilight and that one could not violate the sabbath rest, there remained only one possibility: to allow the lamb to be slaughtered a day earlier. In this way the feast was not anticipated one day, but one could observe the Sabbath, and yet consume the lamb at the prescribed time, the evening before. But there were some who thought that they had to eat it the same day. Lagrange says that the Galileans, as people of the country, more attached to ancient usages, would have kept this praxis so that Jesus would not have surprised them when He proposed to have Easter on the

<sup>25</sup> They reject the oral Torah of rabbinic tradition and live according to the authority of the bible alone. The name is derived from mikra, scripture. They adopted some Essene practices such as total separation from gentiles and ablutions before entering the synagogue, and did not practise customs of rabbinic Judaism such as the use of phylacteries in prayer, prohibition of eating meat with milk and the celebration of the festival of Hanukkah. Intermarriage with non-Karaïtes is forbidden. The founder was Anan ben David, a Jewish scholar in 8th C. Babylonia. The Nazis categorized them as non-Jews and there were cases of collaboration.

13th, since the Sabbath fell that year on the 15th Nisan.

Some Pharisees joined Passover with the Sabbath because in the period which followed the destruction of the Temple, one opposed this custom in order to be more orthodox<sup>26</sup>. But in the period of Christ, there was wavering in the opinions. So according to the opinion of the Pharisees, Jesus could very well have sent the apostles to prepare the real Passover and eaten the lamb on the 13th, the eve of the 14th. This practice of anticipating the offering of the lamb would allow for keeping the Sabbath rest. The other Jews would offer the lamb the next day. Since they asked Pilate to remove the bodies from the cross in order to avoid troubles, this shows that these Jews coincided the Passover to be "that solemn Sabbath".

Jesus could have said, speaking of Thursday 13 Nisan "that He had strongly desired to eat this Passover" with his apostles before dying. And He could also offer Himself on the cross as the real pascal Lamb, the day of Easter in the opinion of Jn. Jn follows in this the idea of the Pharisees, who did not want to become unclean by entering the pretorium the day of the death of Christ because that same evening they have to offer the lamb. Simon of Cyrene could, the day of the death of Christ carry the cross because the Passover of the Pharisees had not yet begun and Jesus had to be taken off from

the cross before darkness, because according to the orthodox or official mentality of that time, the feast started only at evening and was only celebrated the next day. For the common man, on the contrary (the Galileans), it was already being celebrated, since it was separated from the Sabbath.

It is normal that Jesus desired to offer Himself in the place of the pascal lamb ritual. The lamb has always been an excellent symbol, prefiguring the supreme offering of the Messiah. Now that the figure disappears and that it gives way to the reality, Jesus had logically to choose that date of the offering of the lamb to die, since He substitutes Himself for the old order. He is the type prefigured in the past. He realises and fixes the new and eternal order. In this way, in His mind, the 2 dates of 13 and 14 Nisan, those of the sacrifices of the eucharist and the cross, will be soon united in the same mystical thought, which will be expressed in the speech during the supper. A few years after the destruction of Jerusalem the immolation of lambs in the temple will cease and the efforts of Hillel to maintain the Jewish Passover, distinct from the Sabbath, will be vain. Never again will the Temple be reconstructed.<sup>27</sup>

According to P. Dieu the present text of the Syn reproduces incorrectly the aramean text and the expression "the first day of the Azymes", *th prwth hmera tw n Azumwn*, has to be read as: "the day before the Azymes",

<sup>26</sup> The Mischna and the School of Hillel affirm it formally; Lagrange, *Evangile*, 496-8.

<sup>27</sup> According to Josephus, the governor of Syria, Celsus Gallus wanted one day to convince Nero of the importance of the Jewish nation. He informed him about the number of lamb that were offered in the temple and eaten in the houses. He speaks about 256.500. If one counts 1 lamb for every 6 or 8 persons, one can estimate the crowd in Jerusalem for the feast at more than 1.500.000. One understands then that troubles were always possible. In the whole of Palestine, lamb were raised up with a view to the Easterfeast.

th pro thV hmeraV twn Azumwn.<sup>28</sup> He suspects a corruption of the text and attributes it to a distraction during the dictation. His solution reestablishes the harmony between the evangelists.

Lagrange says that according to the Syn the day of Jesus' death was a working day:

One would say that in the synoptici, the day of the Passion was not a holiday since Simon of Cyrene came back from the fields, i.e., most probably from his work, since one could buy a shroud, prepare aromatics and that not only the guards, but also a disciple was armed. These concordances of the synoptici with John which are subjacent, are also characteristic. (Evangile selon saint Marc, 354-61, ici 356)

Simon comes back from the field; Joseph of Arimathy buys a shroud; the women prepare aromatics and perfumes; not only the guards, but also a disciple carries a weapon<sup>29</sup>. Would there be no unanimity, even among Jesus' disciples, concerning the day on which one ought to celebrate the Passover? This shows that all don't celebrate Passover on Friday. Some consider the Friday as being 15 Nisan, others as the 14th.

But that is not a problem, since here it does not concern the Twelve, and Jesus has not told all His adherents when He would celebrate the Passover. What is more, Mk and Lk say explicitly that it was the day on which the lamb had to be slaughtered and nevertheless they

speak of activities which cannot take place on a day of rest. Nobody puts in doubt that 1 or even 2 s can drop through distraction during a dictation, but who can explain how an error could enter all manuscripts, specially when it concerns a point of great importance, that the evangelists and their first readers knew the date of Jesus' death?

Billerbeck, Lichtenstein and Strack explain the disagreement between the Sadducees and Pharisees:

The most probable thing is that there existed no Einstimmigkeit about the beginning of the month of Nisan. Many of the Jews, and among them Jesus, perhaps on the strength of an observation of the new moon, had fixed the beginning of the month, and consequently the 14th of Nisan, a day earlier than the Sadducees and the priests.

This hypothesis reconciles Jn and the Syn. Klausner adds an interesting reflection: "We do not know precisely how the Jews at the time of Jesus fixed the date of the new moon, for the Sadducee priests of the faction of Boethus were at that time in control of the Temple". That is the crux of the matter.

A controversy existed between the Pharisees and Sadducees about the date of Pentecost (Lv 23:9ss). The Pharisees maintained that the offering of the first sheaf, the commencement of the 7 weeks of Pentecost, ought always to be made on the day after the Paschal solemnity, i.e., on the 16th

<sup>28</sup> That is also the translation of S. John Chrysostom, PG 58:729; le 13: Théophylactus, PG 123:440; Oseudo-Victor, Catena, 420; Euthymius, PG 129:652, of Sepp and the Greek: they give to prwth the meaning of pro.

<sup>29</sup> Simon: Mc 15,21; Joseph: Mc 15,46; women: Lc 23,56, poor: Mc 14,43,47. The law on the rest: Ex 12:16; Lv 23:7. Cf. P. Groenen, Het lijden en sterven van O.H.J.C., 407-11; U Holzmeister, Neuere Arbeiten über das Datum der Kreuzigung Christi, Biblica 1932, 93-103; S-B, II, 812-53 Exkurs: Die Angaben der 4 Evangelien über de Todestag Jesu.

of Nisan; the disciples of Boethus (an influential party among the Sadducees) claimed that it ought to be made on the day after the Saturday following the Passover. When the Sadducees caused their view to prevail, whereas the Pharisees adhered to their own opinion, 2 Pentecosts were observed<sup>30</sup>; that of the Sadducees which always fell on a Sunday, and that of the Pharisees which fell on the weekday corresponding to the 16th of Nisan. Something similar may have been involved as to the date of the Passover in the year of Christ's death.

Billerbeck places the divergence with regard to the Passover in relationship with the Pentecost controversy. When the 15th Nisan was due to fall on Friday or Sunday, the Sadducees contrived to make the month of Nisan begin a day later or a day earlier so that Pentecost should fall on a Sunday, the same day as for the Pharisees. The task of regulating the calendar was primarily incumbent upon the priests, their opinion on this point prevailed in the Sanhedrin. At this period the influence of Boethus' followers was great. During the years preceding and following Jesus' death, they had 6 of their members elevated to the High Priesthood; they had a reputation for boldness and violence: "Woe to the sons of Boethus because of their grip!" It is likely that in the year in which Christ died, they had decreed that the first day of Azymes should fall upon a Saturday instead of Friday, as would have been required by the course of the moon. They seem to have transferred the feast of Passover from Friday to Saturday

and immolated the lamb on Friday evening. While the people would have kept it on the Friday, the lunar date of 15 nisan, with the immolation of the lamb on Thursday evening, Jesus would have followed the pharisees and the people, and the Syn would be reflecting their practice. One has thus to keep for certain that Jesus celebrated the paschal meal on Thursday, 13 or 14 nisan, while the indication of Jn 18:28, is related to the official calendar of the Sadducees<sup>31</sup>.

*Conclusion.* In the year of the Passion, there was a disagreement about the date of the Passover between the Pharisees, who set the tone in religious matters, and the Sadducean chief priests, whose task was to regulate the calendar. Both dates could be regarded as legitimate: one having in its favor the letter of the Law, the other the interpretation of competent authority. Jesus, knowing that he was about to die, chose the earlier date and ate the Passover Thursday evening with a certain number of his fellow countrymen, it matters little whether Pharisees or Sadducees, and the rest of the people ate it the following evening.

We might think that the religious practices of the Jews then were uniform or that discrepancies were negligible. The reason for that is that we possess only writings coming from Pharisaic circles (Mishnah, Gemara, Philo, Josephus), all others having been systemically suppressed at a time when Judaism was imbued with the pharisaical spirit. But this conception does not correspond to reality and the discrepancies bore chiefly upon questions

<sup>30</sup> S-B II, 99 and 598-601 and 847-53

<sup>31</sup> Billerbeck, 2,812-53; F. Prat: Jesus-Christ, t.2, 1933, 507-20; Ricciotti: Vie de Jesus-Christ, Paris, 1948, 589-95. Against: Lagrange, RB 1930, 287.

of the calendar. Many violations of the letter of the Law came about in the course of centuries. The decision of King Ezechias to retard the passover by a month to increase its solemnity and to allow the unclean to partake passed without any protest. When Hillel II (4th C) abolished the empirical regulation of the calendar to replace it by a more scientific one, and when he established the arbitrary rules of *adu* and *badu*, disregarding the ancient system of the New Moons, his system being more convenient was promptly adopted.

Still today Muslims celebrate the end of Ramadan on different days because one group has seen the new moon earlier than the other. The Church of Asia disagreed over the fixing of the date of Easter; the decree of Nicaea on the controversy failed to bring about harmony because the Churches of Alexandria, Antioch and Rome used different methods of computation for the calendar. The Gregorian reform caused new disagreements and was only gradually accepted by the various countries. The Orientals in communion with Rome, except the Maronites, were late in

adopting it, the Armenians only in 1912, the Rumanians in 1924.

With the Jewish system, as it was until these last years in the muslim world a month begins not at the exact moment of the new moon, following the data of astronomy, but on the evening on which one perceives for the first time the new moon. Well, even at a time when the sky is clear, there are people who see it and others not. The competent authority surely verifies the value of certain witnesses, but if it is suspect in the eyes of a particular religious party, as would be in the case of the Pharisees, the question would remain disputed... One could suppose... that in the year of the death of Our Lord, some believed that Thursday was 14 nisan, while the authorities of the nation expected it to be on Friday. I don't know if this solution has been proposed and I don't give it too much importance. But it would explain why S. Luke would have considered the day of the Supper as the legal day of Passover. (Lagrange, *Saint Marc*, 362ss)<sup>32</sup>.

Who were the Jews that ate the Paschal lamb a day later than Jesus? Probably the

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Strack, *Pesachim*, Leipzig, 1921, 10: "There was no unanimity in the computation of the beginning of the month Nisan; but many, and among them Jesus, maybe because of their own observations, fixed the first nisan, and consequently 14 nisan, a day earlier than the sadducean supreme tribunal and the priests". Billerbeck took over and confirmed this hypothesis in his excursus "the day of Jesus' death", II, 812-53. Sur Ac 2:1: The priests of the house of Boethus (which between 24 BC and 65 AD has given 6 High Priests, cf. Schürer, II, 270ff) wanted that the day of Pentecost would always fall on a Sunday, against the Pharisees who considered only the 50th day after Easter, whatever day of the week it would be. It is probable that, when 15 nisan fell on a Friday, the Boethians, with other Sadducees, postponed the feast of 1 day so that the first day of Passover fell on a sabbath, and that Pentecost would be a Sunday. That is what happened the year of Jesus' death: the sanhedrin fixed the 15 nisan on sabbath; the pharisees, followed by the people on Friday. Jesus and His disciples, following the computation of the sanhedrites, ate the Passover on Thursday; the pharisees ate it on Friday. Jn has preferred the computation which underlined the symbolical meaning of Jesus' death; nevertheless the word of Christ "what you have to do, do it quickly" and the meaning which the disciples gave to it (13:27ss) show that they considered being already at the day of the Preparation of Easter. On the Passover of Christ: G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeschua*, 80-166. Dalman prefers to follow the synoptic account of Passover. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, Bonn, 1926, 211ss: the Supper is not a Pascha and the primitive rite of the Christian Supper has nothing of the Jewish Pascha. Cf. E. Schwartz, *Z.N.T.W.*, 7, 22ss; Burkitt, *J.T.S.*, 17 (1916) 291ss; Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge*, I, 173ss; F. Prat, *Jesus Christ*, II, 507-20.

priests and Sadducees. During the whole Passion, the chief priests give the cue and direct the movement, the others only follow. It is to them that Judas sells his Master; it is they who decree Jesus' death (Jn 11:53), who deliver him to Pilate and accuse him (Mk 15:3,10; Lk 23:4; 24:20; Jn 18:35), they persuade the people to demand Barabbas (Mk15: 11), they are the first to cry: "Crucify him!" and put an end to Pilate's indecision with the cry: "We have no king but Caesar" (Jn 19:6,15), etc. In the fixing of the calendar, they enjoyed a preponderant authority. We know from the Mishnah that at one period they succeeded in throwing it into confusion. That particular year they could have had a special reason for retarding the Passover by one day to solemnize it on Saturday.

One can conclude as being more clear, better founded on the gospel, more agreeable with the Jewish customs and easier to defend: the common feeling of the Greek and Roman Churches that Jesus celebrated the legal Passover with His disciples on Thursday evening, 14 Nisan, and that He died on Friday, the day of Passover, 15 nisan.

The Syn follow the lunar calendar of the pharisees, which was followed by Jesus, though they have also allusions to the different position of the other group. Jn follows the calendar of the Sadducees of the Sanhedrin,

the official accusers of Jesus, but supposes it is known that Jesus followed another calendar. The following table shows in its first 2 columns the difference in dating for the paschal ceremonies between the Sadducees and the Pharisees and in the last 2 the positions of the evangelists.

*Chronology of the week of the passion*

*Saturday*, 9 Nisan, feast in Bethany.

*Sunday*, 10 Nisan, triumphal entry in Jerusalem.

*Monday - Tuesday*, at night in Bethany, during the day in Jerusalem, where Jesus chases away the merchants from the Temple and pronounces the speech given in Mt 21:12-25,46.

*Wednesday*, Jesus rests outside the City; in Jerusalem, meeting of the Sanhedrin; intervention of Judas.

*Thursday*, 14 Nisan, at evening, Supper in the Cenacle; arrest of Jesus in Gethsemani.

*Friday* 15 Nisan, 1st day of the Azymes or of the paschal solemnity, trial of Jesus, condemnation; crucifixion and death at the moment in which in the Temple the lambs are slaughtered. Burial before sunset

*Saturday*, 16 Nisan, solemn sabbath, intervention of the Jews with Pilate, to guard the tomb.

Sadducees	Pharisees	Day of week	Synoptici	Jn
12 Nisan	13 Nisan		14 N. Last Supper of Jesus	13 N. Last Supper of Jesus
13 Nisan	14 Passovermeal	Wednesday		
14 Passovermeal	15 Passover	Thursday	15 N. Easter; Death of Jesus	14 N. Passovermeal of Jews; Jesus' death
15 Passover	16 presentation of first sheaf	Friday		
16 presentation of first sheaf		Sabbath		15 N. Passover of 'Jews'
		Sunday		

*Sunday, early morning, the Resurrection.*

*Illustration: Text from Isho'Dad of Merv, Bishop (9th C.), ed. M.D. Gibson, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1911*

Now about the Passover which our Lord ate, some say, that when our Lord was crucified the Jews had not yet eaten their own Passover. John Chrysostom, in the Exposition of John, in the affair of the Passover, and S. Ephraim say that our Lord was crucified before Israel had yet eaten the unleavened bread and the lamb; Andrew the brother of Magnes the Great in his Chronicon of the types, in the treatise preceding the types, says that the true Lamb, before the day rose, was slaughtered in the presence of everyone, and His death was announced, when Israel had not yet eaten the unleavened bread and the lamb, in the evening; S. Hippolytus, Eusebius of Caesarea and Epiphanius in the sermon on the Crucifixion, and other teachers, also Jn says, "They went not into the Praetorium, lest they should be defiled, before they ate the Passover"; and he shews that they had not yet eaten it. Also "Now before the feast of the Passover, He rose from supper, and washed His disciples' feet." Also, the disciples said that perhaps He had commanded Judas to buy something for the feast; also For that sabbath-day was an high day." Also, "Six days before the Passover, He came to Bethany," that is on the sabbath-day; so that there were 6, Sunday, and the 2d, and the 3d, and the 4th, and the 5th, and the 6th which is Friday, the Passover, in the evening of which day they ate the Passover; and not in its morning. But our Lord ate it at its dawn; and if the Jews did not eat the Passover at the time of the burial of our

Lord, let them tell us what mysteries were symbolized in this lamb that they were eating, and what it was that they were slaughtering at sunset.

Others say, that in it He ate at the legal Passover; and in the very day, and it is evident from this, that Mk says, "in the first day of unleavened bread, in which the Jews killed the Passover," and if He did not eat the Passover on that day, there was room for them to accuse Him. The Interpreter, explaining "With desire I have desired", says that He does not simply say, "this passover," speaking of that of the Jews, which He also ate with them, but because He was about to attach His own to it, for the sake of the world's salvation. Therefore He said well, Henceforth I will not drink, etc., to shew that henceforth He could not eat of this. But this, It shall be fulfilled in the kingdom of God, to shew that the Passover of the Jews was being fulfilled as in a type, but His passover was being completed for the abolishing of death; and for a sign of the institution that was to be, which we have often shewed that He called the Kingdom of God. John Chrysostom says that as our Lord died for the sake of our resurrection, thus He was broken for the sake of our sanctification; and in blessing He gives us bread, and in thanksgiving the cup; and the bread which was cursed, that we might eat it under a curse, He blessed to give us sanctification; and He gives us a promise, thus without price by a priestly vocation, of the cessation of the primal curse of the sweat of Adam, and of the childbirth pains and pangs of Eve; and in saying the new testament He made the first one old.

# MARTYRIOLOGY OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SYRO - MALABAR CHURCH

Rev. Prof. John Moolan

## INTRODUCTION

St. Thomas the Apostle is related to four places in his mission of preaching the Gospel to the whole world. They are Persia, India, Edessa and Seleucia. While the Apostle himself preached the Gospel in Persia and India, his disciples Addai and Mari preached respectively in Edessa and Seleucia. Here our concern is with India where the apostle Thomas not only established Christianity, but also became a martyr in 72AD. In the year 1952 on the occasion of the 19<sup>th</sup> centenary celebrations of St. Thomas the Apostle in India, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant the then prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches (1951-1956), Rome, referred the antiquity of Christianity in India to the apostolic period:

“At the very beginning of the Christian era, the evangelical message was brought to India by one of the men who had heard directly the teaching of Jesus, the one who touched with his fingers the glorious wounds of Jesus”.<sup>1</sup>

In this regard the statement of Dr. Rajendra Prasad is worth remembering. As the president of India, in his speech delivered on 18 December 1955 at the occasion of the St. Thomas day celebration in New Delhi, he related Christianity in India to the remote past:

“Remember, St. Thomas came to India when many of the countries in Europe had not yet become Christian, and so those Christians who trace their Christianity to him have a longer history and a higher ancestry than that of the Christians of many of the European countries. And it is really a matter of pride to us that it so happened...”<sup>2</sup>

St. Thomas the Apostle known also as Thomas or *Didymos* (Jn 11:16; 20:24; 21:2)<sup>3</sup> is the Apostle of India from 52-72AD. He suffered martyrdom on the Little Mount (*Chinnamalai*) and died on the Big Mount (*Periamalai* or St. Thomas Mount) almost 2½ kilometres away from the Little Mount in

<sup>1</sup> “Foreword”, *Clergy Monthly* 16/10 (1952) 361; J.AERTHAYIL, *The Spiritual Heritage of the St. Thomas Christians* (Bangalore 2001) 11-12.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.1 (Bangalore 1989) 9.

<sup>3</sup> The name Thomas comes from the Aramaic *Teoma*, Hebrew *Teom* and Greek *Tama*, which means the twin. *Didymos* is the name known to the Greek speaking people. For some people he is known also as “Judas Thomas” or Judas the twin. L.M.ZALESKI, *Les Origines du Christianisme aux Indes* (Mangalore 1915) 118-119; M.VELLANICKAL, “Faith and Character of St. Thomas”, in G.MENACHERY (ed.), *The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia*, vol.2 (Trichur 1973) 2.

Mylapore, Chennai or Madras.<sup>4</sup> The preaching and the martyrdom of St. Thomas are the two deep-rooted traditions found in India.<sup>5</sup> Both in the martyrologies and liturgies of different Churches,<sup>6</sup> St. Thomas the Apostle is always associated with India.

The Syro-Malabar Church is the most ancient St. Thomas Christian community in Kerala, India. It was Pope Pius XI who in 1923 established the Syro-Malabar hierarchy for the St. Thomas Christians. Taking into consideration of the age-old tradition and the

enormous growth of the Syro-Malabar Apostolic Church, Pope John Paul II in 1992 raised this Church to the status of Major Archiepiscopal *sui juris* Church. The ancient St. Thomas Christian community in India had owned a rich tradition from the Apostle Thomas. But the records available today for this claim are not many, because either the Indian Christians were rather negligent in keeping historical records, or the foreign missionary endeavours in India destroyed the available documents due to their *auto-da-fé* programme.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A.P. ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, Madras 1972.

<sup>5</sup> For studies on this subject see, BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thomas Christyanikal* (Malayalam), vol. I, Palai 1916; ID, *The History of the St. Thomas Christians*, vol. I, Cambridge 1922; ID, *A Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians*, Mannanam 1924; A. MINGANA, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India*, Manchester 1926; N. FIGUEROA, *St Thomas the Apostle in Mylapore, Three Documents*, Madras 1934; R. GARBE, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen 1914; V. NAGAM AIYA, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. 2, Trivandrum 1905; F. S. ROCCA, "La legenda di S. Tommaso Apostolo" *ocp* 32 (1933) 168-179; A. E. MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London 1905; M. V. de la CROZE, *Histoire du Christianisme de Indas*, La Haye 1758; W. GERMAN, *Die Kirche des Thomas-Christen*, Gütersloh 1877; G. T. MACHENZIE, *Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum 1901; S. NEILL, *A History of Christianity in India*, Cambridge 1985; J. C. PANIKARAN, *The Syrian Church in Malabar*, Trichinopoly 1914; L. M. ZALESKI, *Apostle St. Thomas India: A History, Tradition and Legend*, Mangalore 1912; ID, *Les Origines du Christianisme aux Indes* (Mangalore 1915) 95-361; W. J. RICHARD, *Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, London 1908; A. VÄTH, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens*, Achen 1925; P. J. PODIPARA, *St. Thomas in India*, Trivandrum 1939; ID, *A Short History of the Malabar Church*, Kottayam 1968; ID, *The Malabar Christians: A Souvenir of the 19<sup>th</sup> centenary of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas 72-1972*, Eranakulam 1972; ID, *The Thomas Christians*, Bombay 1970; E. TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity in India* (I. E. R. HAMBYE), Bombay 1957; E. R. HAMBYE, "St. Thomas in India", *Clergy Monthly* 16 (1952) 362-375; ID, "The Syrian Church in India", *Clergy Monthly* 16 (1952) 377-389; ID, "Excavations at S. Tome-Mylapore, February-April 1970", in G. MENACHERY (ed.), *The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2 (Trichur 1973) 5-7; L. W. BROWN, *Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, Cambridge 1956; A. F. J. KLIJN, *The Acts of Thomas*, Leiden 1962; H. HOSTEN, *Antiquities from San Tomé and Mylapore*, Mylapore 1939; ID, *The Song of Thomas Rabban*, Cochin 1931; A. C. PERUMALIL, *The Apostle in India* (Patna 171) 55-102; J. N. FRQUAHR, *The Apostle Thomas in South India*, Manchester 1927; J. VELLIAN (ED.), *The Apostle Thomas in India According to the Acts of Thomas*, Kottayam 1972; ID (ED.), *The Malabar Church*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 168, Rome 1970; X. KODAPUZHA, *Bharathasabhacharithram* (Malayalam), Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India 38 (Kottayam 1980) 42-102; M. M. MUNDADAN, *Sixteenth Century Traditions of St. Thomas Christians*, Bangalore 1970; ID, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I (Bangalore 1989) 18-64; B. VADAEKKARA, *Origin of India's St. Thomas Christians: A Historiographical Critique*, Delhi 1995; K. J. JOHN (ED.), *Christian Heritage in Kerala*, Cochin 1981; P. PALLATH, *Catholic Church in India*, Rome 2003.

<sup>6</sup> L. M. ZALESKI, *Les Origines...* p. 120-125, 333-343; BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thomas Christianikal*, p. 19, 85, 138-141, 158-162, 164; ID, *Brief Sketch*, p. 3, 20-22; A. MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 68; X. KODAPUZHA, *Bharathasabhacharithram*, p. 58-65.

<sup>7</sup> E. TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity...* p. 65; K. J. JOHN, "Origin and Growth of Christianity in India", in ID, *Christian Heritage*, p. 1; V. VITHAYATHIL, "Mission and Life of St. Thomas in India", in G. MENACHERY (ED.), *St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, p. 3, col. 2.

## I. The Apostolic Origin of the Church in India

### 1. Early Contacts

The first proof of contact between Indians and Jews is recorded in the Bible (1 Kings 98:28; 10:22; 2Chro 9:21) where Solomon's fleet in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC imported gold, silver, ivory, peacocks and apes from ophir and Tharshish. Ophir known also as Sopara is identified with the capital of the kingdom of Aparanta about 36 miles north of Bombay (Mumbai) or the seaport of north Malabar known as Beypore near Calicut (Kozhikode), Kerala.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore the fragrant spices like cinnamon (Ex 30:23; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; Rev 18:13) and cassia (Ex 30:24; Ps 45:8; Ezek 27:17) foreign to Palestine, were produced mainly in Malabar and Ceylon, and used extensively among Hebrews in Palestine. Again the logs of Indian teak wood found in the temple of the Moon at Mugheir and in the palace of Nabuchadnazzir<sup>9</sup> prove the early relations of Palestinian Jews with India even before the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>10</sup>

The western traders and travellers started frequenting the markets and towns of India with the triumphant entry of Alexander the

Great of Macedonia in 326 BC. Thus it was Alexander who opened the eastern boundary of the Persian Empire to India. Those merchants and visitors from the west to India have testified to the events that took place in India in those remote days.

When Christianity spread in the west with the religious freedom granted by the emperor Constantine in 313, many Christians took part in trade with other regions and travelled through distant countries both for material gain and intellectual knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Those Christians gathered details about Christianity in distant lands and reported their findings to those at home. Thus from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards the information about the Eastern Churches started to find place in the patristic writings.

### 2. Early Writings

Early documents and the patristic writings like Syriac, Greek and Latin bear witness to the fact that the Apostle Thomas preached the Gospel in India.<sup>12</sup> Following are evidence to this effect. **a. The Acts of Thomas:** This is the earliest Syriac document, an ancient apocryphal work written in the first half of the 2/3<sup>rd</sup> century in Edessa. Even though this

<sup>8</sup> S.G.POTHEN, *St. Thomas Christians of Kerala* (Bombay 1926) 6; PADMANABHA MEMON, *History of Kerala in the form of Notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar*, vol.1 (Eranakulam 1924) 4; T.PUTHIAKUNNEL, "Jewish Colonies of India Paved the way for St. Thomas", in J.VELLIAN (ed.), *The Malabar Church*, p.188;

<sup>9</sup> RAWLINSON, "Relation of India with Western Nations", in K.M.PANICKAR (ed.), *Malabar and the Portuguese* (Bombay 1929) 6.

<sup>10</sup> There were eight Jewish colonies in Kerala distributed at Kodungallore (Cranganore), Cochin, Anjikaimal (Eranakulam), Parur, Palayur, Chenot, Muttom and Kollam (Quilone). Cf. MOSES de PAIVA, *noticias de Judeos do Cochin*, Amsterdam 1686, cited in T.PUTHIAKUNNEL, "Jewish Colonies of India...", p.189, note 10; S.S.KODER, *Kerala and her Jews*, Eranakulam 1965.

<sup>11</sup> RUFINUS, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.9; PL 21, 478-480.

<sup>12</sup> P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.16-18; A.C.PERUMALIL, *The Apostle in India*, p.56-66; S.NEILL, *A History of Christianity in India*, p.29-30; L.M.ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.136-142; X.KOODAPUZHA, *Bharathasabhacharithram*, p.52-58.

work is Gnostic in origin and romantic in style, it contains a historical nucleus that represents the activities of the Apostle Thomas in India.<sup>13</sup>

**b. The Doctrine of the Apostles:** This is another ancient Syriac document written in Edessa ca. 3/4<sup>th</sup> century. The testimony of this document is that India received Christian priesthood from the Apostle Thomas who ruled and guided the Church that he built there.<sup>14</sup> **c. St. Ephrem:** St. Ephrem (d.373) in his hymns on the Apostle Thomas speaks about the works of the Apostle in India:

“Lo, in India are thy miracles, O! Thomas and in our land thy triumph and everywhere thy festival... The sunburnt India thou hast made fare... A tainted land of dark people thou hast purified. More than sow and white linen The dark bride of India thou hast made fare... Thy crown of light has obliterated India’s darkened shades”.<sup>15</sup>

**d. Gregory of Nazianzen:** Gregory (329-390) in his list of the Apostles allotted to different countries, places Thomas to India: “Peter indeed belong to Judea, Paul had in common with the gentiles, Luke with Achaia, Andrew with Epirus, John with Ephesus,

Thomas with India, Mark with Italy...”.<sup>16</sup> **e.**

**Ambrose:** St. Ambrose of Milan (333-397) who has knowledge of Brahmin customs, attributes the mission of Thomas to India: “Even those kingdoms (India, Persia, Egypt & Ethiopia), which were shut in by rugged mountains became accessible to them, as India to Thomas, Persia to Mathew...”.<sup>17</sup> **f.**

**Jerome:** Jerome (342-420) had a vast knowledge of India as a land of Brahmins. As he speaks about Jesus’ continual presence with the Apostles, the Apostle Thomas is found in India: “He (Christ) dwelt in all places, with Thomas in India, with Peter in Rome, with Paul in Illyricum, with Titus in Crete, with Andrew in Achaia and with each apostolic man in each and all countries”.<sup>18</sup> **g. Isidore of**

**Seville:** Isidore (d.638) of Seville in Spain, who had good geographical knowledge of India, allots India also to Thomas: “Thomas preached the Gospel of Christ to the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians, the Hyrcanians, the Indians of the Oriental region and penetrating to the innermost regions he sealed his preaching by his passion and death transfixed with a lance at Calamina,”<sup>19</sup> a city of India, where he was buried with honours.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Fathers like Gaudentius of Brescia (d.410), Paulinus of

<sup>13</sup> A.F.J.KLIJN, *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction Text Commentary*, Leiden 1962; J.VELLIAN (ed.), *The Apostle Thomas in India According to the Acts of Thomas*, Syrian Series 1, Kottayam 1972.

<sup>14</sup> W.CURETON (ed. & tr.), *Ancient Syria Documents* (London 1964) 33; cf. H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.ix.

<sup>15</sup> *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymnis et Sermones* (ed. & tr. T.J.LAMI), vol.4 (Mechliniae 1902) 701, 703; A.MINGANA *The Early Spread of Christianity...*, p.18. Translation of the quotation in S.NEILL, *A History of Christianity...*, p.29.

<sup>16</sup> *Contra Arianos et de seipo. Oratio* 23.11; PG 36, 228.

<sup>17</sup> *Psalmum enarratio* 21; PL 14, 1143.

<sup>18</sup> *Epist. 50 ad Evangelicum* 2; PL 22, 1194.

<sup>19</sup> Calamina, Qalimaya, Myluph or Meilan are the different names attributed to the place of the apostolic tomb, which beyond doubt refer to Mylapore in Madras or Chennai. Cf. H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.305-314; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.27-28; L.M.ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.126-131; A.M.MUNDADAN, “The Origins of Christianity in India”, in A.C.PERUMALIL & E.R.HAMBYE (ed.), *Christianity in India* (Alleppy 1972) 19; X.KOODAPUZZHA, *Bharathasabharithram*, p.70-73.

<sup>20</sup> *De ortu et obitu patrum*. 74, 132; PL 83, 152.

Nola (353-431) and Gregory of Tours (538-593) also speak about the apostolic mission of Thomas in India.<sup>21</sup>

## II. The Mission of Thomas

Comparing to the early apostolic works in South India, the traces of his works are found very rare in North India.<sup>22</sup> The south Indian claim of the apostolic works is supported mainly by two traditions. They are the Malabar and Mylapore traditions. The Apostle initiated Christianity in India at Malabar, Kerala. The community of St. Thomas Christians in Malabar with their living tradition is a clear proof of it. The martyrdom and the tomb of the Apostle in Mylapore are two indisputable proofs of his apostolate in Mylapore.

### 1. Malabar

The Malabar tradition of the apostolate of Thomas in India has not been contradicted until now by any other rival tradition. Christian families in Malabar traditionally trace their origin back to the apostle Thomas.<sup>23</sup> The extant written documents of this tradition are not older than the 16<sup>th</sup> century. But the oral tradition on the life style of the Christian community in Malabar, started much earlier and exists even today. The chief written documents in this regard are the three ancient songs (*Puratana Pattukal*)<sup>24</sup> such as the *Rabban Pattu* (song of Rabban Thomas, an epic work),<sup>25</sup> the *Margamkali Pattu* (song of the way),<sup>26</sup> and the *Veeradiyan Pattu* (song of *Veeradiyan* cast people).<sup>27</sup> They are the ancient

<sup>21</sup> GAUDENTIUS, *Sermo 17 de diversis capitalis*; PL 20, 263; PAULINUS, *Poema* 19; PL 61, 514; GREGORY of TOURS, *Miraculorum lib.* 1.32; PL 71, 733.

<sup>22</sup> E. TISSERANT, *Eastern Christianity*..., p.4; A.M. MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.61; A.C. PERUMALIL, *The Apostles in India*, p.68.

<sup>23</sup> P.J. PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.20; A.M. MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.32-33.

<sup>24</sup> In 1564 a Portuguese Jesuit historian Amador Correa has described the ancient tradition of singing the ancient songs by Malabar Christians on their pilgrimage to Kodungallore (Cranganore) in commemoration of the Apostl's arrival in India. Cf. ANTONIO DA SILVA REGO, *Documentação a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India*, vol.9 (Lisbon 1957) 138f; J. WICKI, *Documenta*, vol.6 (Rome 1954) 413, 427f; J. THOMAS, *Malayala Sahityavum Christyanikalum* (Malayalam), Kottayam 1961, 57-58.

<sup>25</sup> This Malayalam pilgrim song describes the Malabar tradition of the apostolate of Thomas in India. It was Thomas, a disciple of the apostolate and the second priest of the Malieckal family of Niranam, who originally composed it. This original oral tradition was redacted for the first time into a written form in 1601 by *Rabban* (teacher) Thomas Malieckal, the 48<sup>th</sup> priest of the Malieckal family. The *Raban Pattu* has been published by Bernard Thomas, *Mar Thoma Christyanikal* (Malayalam), p.66-79; F.X. ROCCA, "La leggenda di San Tommaso", *OCP* 32 (1933) 168-179; M.M. MUNDADAN, *Sixteenth Century Tradition*, p.60-70; X. KODAPUZZHA, *Bharatasabhacharitam*, p.86-90.

<sup>26</sup> This is a Malayalam song of the way that describes the initiation of Christianity in Kerala by the Apostle Thomas. It is supposed to be older than the arrival of the Portuguese in India during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see P.J. THOMAS, *Malayala Sahityavum Christyanikalum*..., p.59. The song is sung at a warrior dance of entertainment at Christian marriages and festivals, performed by 12 persons, representing twelve apostles, dressed like warriors with swords and shields, who go around a *Nilavilakku* (solemn lighted lamp representing Christ) while they dance. For a complete text of this song, see MADASSERY, *Nammude Pattukal* (Malayalam), Kottayam 1968, p. 137-155; U.P. LUCAS, *Puratana Pattukal* (Malayalam), Kottayam 1980, p. 159-173; M.C. ULAHANNAN, *Margamkali, Parichamuttukali* (Malayalam), Kottayam 1993, p. 1-15; L.M. BROWN, *The Indian Christians of Thomas*, p.51 gives the content of this song. Probaly this song can be an imitation of journey song of Brahmins in India known as *Yathrakali*, cf. E.R. HAMBYE, "St. Thomas in India", p.369; CHUMMAR CHUNDAL, *Magamkali Pattu* (Malayalam), Kottayam 1973; X. KODAPUZZHA, *Bharatasabhacharitam*, p.90-93.

Malayalm songs of praises of St. Thomas the Apostle and his apostolate in Malabar, Kerala. These art forms of Malabar traditions provides the information regarding his arrival and works in Malabar.

The south Indian king Chola (Choran) sent Habban a merchant to Arabia to get an architect to build a palace for the king. Habban brought the Apostle Thomas to south India. In 52 AD the Apostle landed at *Muziris*, the ancient ship port of Kodungallore (Cranganore) in *Maliankara* (Malabar). After a short stay preaching the Gospel at Kodungallore, he proceeded to Mylapore, the ancient Cholanmandalam or Coromandel, in Chennai (Madrass). From Mylapore he went to China and came back again to Mylapore. From there he sailed to Malabar at the invitation of the king of Thiruvanchikulam in Kodungallore. The Apostle preached the Gospel throughout Malabar and founded seven Churches (communities) in different places such as Kodungallore (Cranganore), Kollam (Quilon), Kokkamangalam, Niranam, Chayal, Parur (Kottakayal) and Palayur. Each Church has its own story of foundation by the Apostle.

In 59 AD king Chola or Choran called the Apostle back to Mylapore and entrusted him

a huge amount of money to build a beautiful palace for him. Since the Apostle distributed this money for the well being of the poor, the king imprisoned him for the inappropriate use of the money. Then the king's brother died and the Apostle brought him back to life. The life regained brother, revealed the glory of the palace in heaven built by the Apostle for the king. Thereupon the king set Thomas free, and he together with many others received baptism by believing the Gospel of Jesus preached by the Apostle.

From Mylapore the Apostle revisited Malabar via Malayattur, a great pilgrim centre of the Apostle at present in Kerala, where he spent a few days in prayer and fasting.<sup>28</sup> Then he visited the Christian communities formed earlier by him in different places, and confirmed them in the Holy Spirit. He performed many miracles throughout the region and converted many people to Christianity. For the proper functioning of the Church, he established a hierarchy by ordaining many priests and consecrating two bishops as, e.g. Kepa for Malabar and Paul for Mylapore (Coromandel coast).<sup>29</sup> In the year 68/69 AD the Apostle conveyed his last message to the faithful at Chayal about his permanent departure from Malabar to Mylapore.

<sup>27</sup> This song is known also as *Panan Pattu*. *Veeradiyans* and *Panans* were Hindu people who earned their livelihood by singing the glorious deeds of the Apostle Thomas at *Nazrani* (Christian) houses in Malabar. At the marriage receptions of the Thomas Christians, they used to make their sudden appearance by singing this song. The song is supposed to be earlier than the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. BERNARD THOMA, *Mar Thoma Christyanikal*, p.22-23; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.31, note 17; X.KOODAPUZHA, *Bharatasabhacharitam*, p.93-94.

<sup>28</sup> *St. Thomas 19<sup>th</sup> centenary Souvenir*, Mylapore 1972.

<sup>29</sup> In order to verify this earlier tradition of ordaining priests and bishops in Malabar, we have no clear evidence available in Malabar. For an organised hierarchical formation of the Malabar Church, we have to depend on the Seleucian Church and the Church of Persia proper in the Middle East. Cf. P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.30.

## 2. Mylapore

The main source for the Mylapore apostolate of Thomas is the oral tradition that existed among the Coromandel (Cholamandalam) coastal inhabitants in Madras (Chennai). The Portuguese missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century documented this oral tradition by gathering information from the local people of different regions like Christians, Muslims and Hindus who witnessed alike about what they had heard from their forefathers and ancestors.<sup>30</sup> The Mylapore tradition has scarcely any detail about the journey of St. Thomas and his apostolate in Madras (Chennai); whereas the Malabar tradition is rich in description about the itinerary of his apostolate in Kerala. At Mylapore the main concerns are about his miraculous building of the house or the church, his martyrdom and his tomb.

### a. House (church)

St. Thomas worked many miracles in Mylapore,<sup>31</sup> but many of them are similar in almost every aspect to the Malabar tradition.<sup>32</sup> Among the churches he built in Mylapore, the holy house known as "the house of the holy man" is very important. It was where the Apostle stayed during his apostolate in Mylapore, and was buried after his martyrdom.<sup>33</sup> There are various miracles in connection with the construction of this house or the church by the Apostle. Many of them resemble those that happened at the church construction in Kollam (Quilone), Malabar.<sup>34</sup>

### b. Martyrdom

During his mission in Mylapore, he used to stay in his house or the church built by him in the town where at present stands the San Thom Cathedral Church with the tomb. There are various accounts given about the death of the Apostle.<sup>35</sup> Diogo de Couto in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has combined all those different

<sup>30</sup> The main documents of enquiry are the following: DIOGO FERNANDES, *Goa* 31(1533), f.19r-25r & *Goa* 49 (1533), f.125r-131v, kept in the *Archivum Romanum Societas Jesu*, Rome, contain the testimonies collected from Coromandel (Mylapore) in the year 1533; JOÃO de BARROS, *Da Asia Decada* 3,7,11, Vol.1 (Lisbon 1977) 223f; GASPER CORREA, *Lendas da Índia*, vol.3 (Lisbon 1600) 163f; as cited in A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity*, p.41.

<sup>31</sup> H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.229-272; A.M.MUNDADAN, *Sixteenth Century Traditions*, p.44-46, 50-52.

<sup>32</sup> A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity*, p.44.

<sup>33</sup> GREGORY of Tours (d.594/595), *Miraculorum liber*, 1.3; PL 71, 733; S.GIAMIL, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum Orientalium seu Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam* (Rome 1092) 588; M.GOMES, "Letter about the Tomb of Mylapore written from Mylapore in 1517", in A.de SIVA REGO (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia*, vol. 1 (Lisbon 1947) 296f; G.GOLUBOVICH, *Bibliographica della Terra Sancta*, vol.4 (Quarachi 1923) 278; A.E.MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p.90-100; A.P.D.ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore: Some unpublished Documents 1293-1711* (Madras 1972) 9-14.

<sup>34</sup> The miracle of turning sand and sawdust into rice and *fanam* (money) as the payment paid by the Apostle for the house building, dragging of a big log of wood from sea to shore, and bringing of a dead boy to life, are the main miracles related in this respect. Cf. BARBOSA DURANTE, *A Discription of the Cost of East Africa* (tr.H.E.C.STANLEY, LONDON 1866) 161; H.YULE, *Cathy and the Way thither*, vol.2 &3 (London 1866) 374, 423; P.J.THOMAS, *Indian Historical Records Commission: Proceedings of Meetings*, vol. 1 (Madras 1924) 122-123; H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, 235-236, 238, 268-270.

<sup>35</sup> D.BARBOSA, *The Book of Durate Barbos* (tr. & ed. M.L.DAMES), vol.2 (London 1918) 125 speaks about a peacock hunter who by mistake arrowed him to death. M.GOMES, "Letter about the Tomb of Mylapore...",

versions of accounts into one unit. By adding numerous details as credible as possible to the circumstances of the apostolic martyrdom he explains the martyrdom of the Apostle in the following way.<sup>36</sup>

Due to the numerous conversions made by the Apostle, the Brahmins in Mylapore (an ancient town of peacock) hated and decided to kill him. They were looking for a suitable time and place for it. Other than his house or church in the town, the Apostle used to spend hours in prayer in two other places. The first one was a cave on the slope of the Little Mountain (*Chinnamalai*) situated almost 5km away from his house in the town. The second one was his oratory, private chapel, for prayer and preaching on the Big Mountain (*Periamalai*) situated almost 9km far from the town and 2½km away from the Little Mountain.<sup>37</sup> Knowing that he was in prayer in the cave at the Little Mountain, the envious Brahmins surrounded the cave where they found him in ecstasy. One of them thrust him with a lance through the opening of the cave and wounded him mortally. In his death agony the Apostle escaped the cave somehow and managed to reach his private chapel, oratory,

on the Big Mountain. Thereby on July 3, 72 AD embracing a stone Cross he gave up his soul to his Master with whom he once wanted to go and die during his discipleship of Jesus (Jn 11:16). The disciples of the Apostle brought his dead body to his house or the church in the town, and buried it there near to the Gospel side of the Altar.<sup>38</sup> In 1972 on the occasion of the 19<sup>th</sup> centenary of the Apostle's martyrdom, Pope Paul VI declared him the Apostle of India who preached the Gospel and died there a martyr.<sup>39</sup>

### c. Tomb

According to tradition the location of St. Thomas tomb is established in Mylapore. Even though the Apostle evangelised mainly in Malabar among Thomas Christians, they have never claimed the apostolic tomb with them, but in Mylapore. At present the tomb is preserved in the crypt of San Thom Cathedral church at Mylapore. It is an important monument in support of the apostolic tradition of Christians of St. Thomas. This is an indisputable fact since so far there is no other claim anywhere in the world for the tomb. Even before the

p.296-298 gives more or less the same version as that of Barbosa. F.L. de CASTANHEDA, *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India Pelos Portugueses* (ed. P.de AZEVEDO), vol. 1 (Coimbra 1924) 126f, follows Barbosa and Gomes. DIOGO FERNANDES, *Goa* 31 (1533), f.23r, kept in *Archivum Romanum Societas Jesu*, Rome, says that he was murdered on the Little Mount. JOÃO de BARROS, *Da Asia Decada* III,7,11 (Lisbon 1777-1778) 233, explains that the Apostle was martyred with a lance while he was praying on a mountain. According to the *Rabban Song*, a devotee of the temple of Kaali (goddess Parvathy, the wife of Hindu god Siva) lanced him to death; cf. BERNARD THOMAS, *Mar Thomas Christyanikal*, p.75.

<sup>36</sup> *Das Asia Decada* VII,10,5 (Lisbon) 469.

<sup>37</sup> For a detailed explanation of these two mountains, see A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.413-414.

<sup>38</sup> M.GOMES, "Letter about the Tomb of Mylapore...", p.297; DIOGO FERNANDES, *Goa* 31, f.19v; G.CORREA, *Lendas da India*, vol. 2 (Lisbon 1860) 723. For the place of the grave in the house or church of the Apostle, see A.P.ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.21; A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.408.

<sup>39</sup> See the declaration message in *St. Thomas Centenary Souvenir*, Eranakulam 1972.

Portuguese opened the tomb in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the authenticity of it had already been documented from the materials used for its construction, and from the patristic writings and pilgrims' travelogues found almost in every century.<sup>40</sup>

The building evidence of the tomb in the first century is drawn from the bricks used for the tomb's construction. The bricks used for the tomb and the bricks from Arikamedu<sup>41</sup> in 50 AD measure the same, i.e. 15x18x2.9 inches. The Arikamedu bricks measured this size only in this period; those in the second century differ in size.<sup>42</sup>

The transfer of bones of the Apostle from Mylapore tomb to the west is mentioned in the *Acts of Thomas* in 2/3 century.<sup>43</sup> St. Ephrem (d.373) has acknowledged the veneration of the apostolic relics at Edessa.<sup>44</sup> In the year 883 we see the King Alfred of England sending offerings to the tombs of Peter and Paul in Rome, and to the tomb of Thomas in India.<sup>45</sup> This shows the early evidence for the authenticity of the tomb's location in Mylapore.

The Mylapore pilgrimage that started in the first century from different parts of the world to the tomb of the Apostle, continue even today declaring the Apostle's martyrdom and the tomb in India. The first visit of a Pope to this tomb was on Feb.5, 1986 by His Holiness John Paul II who prayed at the tomb.

#### d. Relics

There are different opinions with regard to the location of relics of the Apostle. They are 1. The relics were never transferred from India, 2. A major part was transferred to Edessa, 3. The remaining parts were taken to Pangim, Goa, 4. The Ortona relics' relevance.<sup>46</sup> The Malabar tradition is silent about what happened to the relics. According to the evidence and witness from various available sources, we are inclined to hold the following position regarding the *status quo* of the relics.

In between 1523 and 1970 the St. Thomas tomb in Mylapore was opened five times for excavations. The first excavation by the Portuguese was in 1523. The second one took

<sup>40</sup> A.P.ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.15-25; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.22-26; A.C.PERUMALIL, *The Apostles in India*, p.72-76; E.R.HAMBYE, "St. Thomas in India", p.372f; A.E.MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p.101f; X.KOODAPUZHA, *Bharatasabhacharitam*, p.65-69; A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.49-60, 403-412, 415-421; ID, *Mar Thomayude Kabaridam* (Malayalam), Eranakulam 1974.

<sup>41</sup> Arikamedu was the ancient Roman trading centre in first half of the first century, situated at Pondichery on the sea shore about 150km to the south of Mylapore. Cf. A.C.PERUMALIL, *The Apostle in India*, p.76.

<sup>42</sup> WHEELER, *Ancient India: bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1946), p.32-33, cited in P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.33, note 31.

<sup>43</sup> A.F.J.KLIJN, *Acts of Thomas*, p.154.

<sup>44</sup> G.BICKEL (ed.), *S. Ephraemi Syri Caramina Nisibena*, hymn 42, Leipzig 1866; T.J.LAMY, *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, vol.4 (Mechliniae 1902) col.704.

<sup>45</sup> H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.xii.

<sup>46</sup> L.M.ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.210-214; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.24-26; A.P.de ANDREADE, *The Apostle of St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.7-8, 30-37; A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 47, 55-56, 418-419; G.NEDUNGATT, "St. Thomas the Apostle and Hosios Thomas of Ortona" *ocp* 38 (1972) 388-407.

place in 1724 at the order of bishop Pinheiro. The third one in 1903 was for the building of the crypt at the apostolic grave situated down a few steps below inside the San Thom Cathedral Church built in between 1893-1903 at Mylapore. Hosten made the fourth excavation around the San Thom Cathedral in 1924. The fifth and the final one was by Hamby in 1970.<sup>47</sup>

Among these excavations the very first one in 1523 draws our attention to the whereabouts of the relics.<sup>48</sup> At this opening of the tomb, the Portuguese found in it the following things. A few bones of the skull, the spine, legs, arms and a few other parts of the body of the Apostle, together with a clay jar of about 20 litres in capacity filled with blood soaked earth,<sup>49</sup> and the iron head of a lance that pierced him to death.<sup>50</sup> The lance and the blood soaked earth found in the tomb coincide with the martyrdom of the Apostle. What happened to the other parts of the relics? Where they have gone to? These are the

questions that persuade one to think about an earlier opening of the tomb in order to possess relics from there. The presence of the fragmentary relics of the Apostle found now in Ortona, Italy,<sup>51</sup> induces one to find out the way how they were brought there. The very fact that the relics in Ortona are incomplete in structure, strengthens the idea that the remaining parts were left back in the Apostle's tomb in Mylapore. Those would be the relics that the Portuguese found at the excavation in 1523.

According to the Syrian tradition of the *Acts of Thomas* (2/3 century), the transference of the relics from India to Edessa took place probably around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>52</sup> It was at the request of the Syrians that the Roman emperor Alexander, who defeated Zeres the king of Persia in 233 AD, ordered the body of the Apostle to be brought from India to Edessa.<sup>53</sup> St. Ephrem's (d.373) hymn on the Apostle Thomas says that a merchant transferred the relics from India, and they are

<sup>47</sup> A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.51; H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.5f; E.R.HAMBYE, "The Excavations at the Tomb of Mylapore, February-April 1970", in G.MENACHERY, *The St. Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia*, vol.2 (trichur 1973) 5-7.

<sup>48</sup> For a detailed account of these excavations, see *The Catholic Register* (Mylapore, February 1933) 12f., cited in P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.33, note 29.

<sup>49</sup> Maringoly, the papal delegate of China, who visited Mylapore in 1394 has recorded the local oral tradition that the priests had buried the Apostle together with his blood soaked earth collected from the place of his martyrdom. He also makes mention of the miracles connected with the earth taken away from the tomb, see G.GOLUVICK, *Biblioteca bibliografica della Terra Santa*, vol.4 (Quarachi 1923) 287; A.E.MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p.93-94. The holy water kept in Malabar churches known as *Hanana* (holy) in Syriac, was the water mixed with the earth taken from the tomb of the Apostle and blessed with oil. Not in holy water alone, but in holy oil also they used to mix the dust from the tombs of saints. Cf. C.YULE, *The Book of Marco Polo*, vol. 1 (London 1875) 21-22; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.23,45,94; ID, *Nammude Rithu* (Malayalam), Mannanam 1958, 34.

<sup>50</sup> D.FERNANDES, *Goa* 31,f.20r. ff; J.E.BARROS, *Da Asia Decada* III,3,11, p.227-229; A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.7-8; A.M.MUNDADAN, *Sixteenth Century Tadtions*, p.71-72.

<sup>51</sup> P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.24

<sup>52</sup> See note 13.

<sup>53</sup> J. de LUCENA, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon 1600) 175; A.E.MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p.50f; E.R.HAMBYE, "St. Thomas in India", p.372; A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.56.

venerated at Edessa.<sup>54</sup> In an ancient East Syrian calendar,<sup>55</sup> July 3 is marked as a great festival in commemoration of "St. Thomas who was pierced with a lance in India, and his body is at Urhai (Edessa), having been brought there by a merchant Khabin". Therefore L.M.Zaleski concludes that the merchant Khabin<sup>56</sup> might have left back in India a portion of the relics together with the lance and the vessel containing earth, with the monks at Mylapore tomb, while he brought the other parts to Edessa in between 222 and 235 AD.<sup>57</sup> Egeria in her travelogue (381-384) has mentioned a shrine of St. Thomas in Edessa where the relics of the Apostle are venerated.<sup>58</sup>

The relics in Edessa remained undisturbed for about nine centuries. Then in the year 1144 they were transferred to the island of Chios in order to protect them from Mohammedans' attack. In the beginning of the year 1258, due to the Turks' assault in Chios, Leo Accacioli, the count of Ortona, who was the admiral of the king of Naples, brought them to Ortona where they rest at present.<sup>59</sup>

Other fragmentary relics found out from the tomb in 1523, were preserved in a casket

of reliquary, and buried it under the altar of the Apostle in the church where lies the excavated tomb. There they remained undisturbed until 1559. Thus the tomb became completely empty without any elements of reminiscence of the Apostle in it.

The King of Vijaynagar invaded Mylapore in 1559 and took the relics away to his residence in Chandragiri, the capital of the Vijaynagar kingdom. But due to the fear of a great misfortune to him and to his palace, made known through a dream to the queen on the very night of his return with the relics to Chandragiri, immediately he sent back the relics to Mylapore.<sup>60</sup> The then vicar of Mylapore Church, Fr.Lopo d'Almada took half of the relics and the spear-head for Mylapore. The other half was given to the archbishop Dom Jorge de Temudo of Cochin, who was the then archbishop of Mylapore also, during his visit to Mylapore. In the year 1601 Dom Frey Andre de Sta Maria, the then archbishop of Cochin, transferred them to the church of St. Thomas in Goa. When this church collapsed the reliquary was taken to Corlin. Now it is found in the church of Ribandar near Pangim, Goa.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See note 44.

<sup>55</sup> A.J.MACLEAN, *Catholicos of the East and his People* (London 1892) 346-352.

<sup>56</sup> According to Mar Solomon, the metropolitan of Perath-Maishan in Basra (Persian Gulf) ca.1222 AD, it was the merchant Habban who brought the relics from India to Edessa. Cf. SOLOMON OF BASRA, *The Book of the Bee* (ed. & tr. E.A.W.BUDGE), *Anecdota Oxoniensia* 1,3,47 (Oxford 1889) 105; H.HOSTEN, *Antiquities...*, p.303; A.E.MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p.38; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.33.

<sup>57</sup> *Les Origines...*, p.212-213.

<sup>58</sup> *Journal de Voyage*, sc 21 (Paris 1943) 158-159; J.B.SEGAL, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford 1907) 174-176.

<sup>59</sup> L.M.ZALESKI, *Les origines ...*, P.213-214; P.J.PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.33, note 30; G.NEDUNGAT, "St. Thomas the Apostle and Hosios Thomas in Ortona", *ocp* 38 (1972) 388-407, is sceptical about the authenticity of the Ortona relics.

<sup>60</sup> A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p. 35-37.

<sup>61</sup> N.FIGUEIREDO, *St. Thomas the Apostle in Mylapore, Three Documents: His Tomb, His Relics and Stone Cross* (Madras 1934) 4f; D.FERNANDES, *Goa* 31, f.20r; J. de BARROS, *Da Asia Decada* III,7,11, p.227-229;

All that the San Thom Cathedral Basilica at Mylapore possesses now is a few pieces of the Apostle's bone and some fragments of the lance kept in a cruciform monstrance reliquary above the altar over the tomb of the Apostle in the crypt.<sup>62</sup> Other relics of the Apostle found in India are a piece of bone kept in St. Thomas Mount (*Periamalai* = big mountain) church at Mylapore, the right forearm bone enshrined in St. Thomas' shrine at Kodungalore (Cranganore),<sup>63</sup> and a piece of bone kept in St. Thomas cathedral church at Palai, Kerala.

### III *Mar Thoma Sliba* (St. Thomas Cross)

St. Thomas Cross, which is popularly known as *Mar Thoma Siba*,<sup>64</sup> is the unique and the unparalleled symbol of St. Thomas Christians in India. It was discovered from St. Thomas Mount (Big Mountain or *Periamalai*), the sight of the martyrdom of the Apostle at Mylapore. This Cross engraved on a piece of a granite stone of 90x95cm in size is found today fixed over the wall behind the

altar in the St. Thomas Mount Church. The name *Mar Thoma Sliba* (St. Thomas Cross) was given to it by Thomas Christians, because of the belief that this particular Cross might have been craved on a granite stone smeared with the Apostle's blood,<sup>65</sup> shed at his martyrdom on July 3, 72 AD.

St. Thomas Cross is known also as the Bleeding or Sweating Cross. When on March 23, 1547 while digging the foundation for the church on St. Thomas Mountain (*Periamalai*), the Portuguese got this Cross from the ruins of the early rectory there built by the Apostle.<sup>66</sup> They noticed a streak like petrified drops of blood on one side of the Cross. When they scratched them off, other fresh blood drops started to reappear.<sup>67</sup> This phenomenon brought great devotion to the Cross. The devotion became strong when this fixed Cross on the wall behind the altar of St. Thomas Mountain Church started sweating for the first time during the singing of the

G. CORREA, *Lendas da India*, vol.2 (Lisbon 1860) 788f; Ibidem, vol.4 (Lisbon 1864) 424f. Cf. A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.85-87; P.J. PODIPARA, *The Thomas Christians*, p.33, note 32; A.C. PERUMALIL, *The Apostles in India*, p.85-87; A.M. MUNDADAN, *Sixteenth Century Traditions*, p.71f; ID., *History of Christianity in India*, p.415-419;

<sup>62</sup> A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.xvii-xviii.

<sup>63</sup> In the year 1953 Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, the then prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, brought this relic from Ortona to Kodungalore in memory of the Apostle's arrival in India.

<sup>64</sup> Other names for this Cross are Mylapore Cross, Miracle Cross, Persian Cross, Bleeding Cross, Sweating Cross, Mount Cross and Tomb Cross. Cf. J. VAZHUTHANAPALLY, *Archaeology of Mar Siba*, Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India 139 (Kottayam 1990) 10-11. For detailed information on *Mar Thoma Sliba*, see L.M. ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.359-361; A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.38-41; A.M. MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.422-424; V. PATHIKULANGARA, *Church and Celebration* (Kottayam 1984) 15-19; K.V. SEBASTIAN, *Marthomasliba* (Malayalam) Chengannassery 2000; C. PAYNGOT, *Thirunalukal* (Malayalam), OIRS 231 (Kottayam 1999) 369-3378.

<sup>65</sup> L.M. ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.360.

<sup>66</sup> A.M. MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.413-414.

<sup>67</sup> A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle St Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.39-40; G. CORREA, *Lendas da India*, vol. 2, p.421; L.M. ZALESKI, *Les Origines...*, p.359. It might be this type of earth collected from the place of martyrdom and buried in a clay vessel with the body of the Apostle that was found out from the Apostle's tomb during the excavation in 1523.

Gospel lesson at the Eucharist on Dec. 18, 1557, the then Latin commemoration day of the expectation of Our Lady.<sup>68</sup> The miracle lasted until the end of the Eucharist.

In the year 1558 on Dec. 18 the same miracle lasted for four hours in the following way. At the Gospel singing during the Eucharist the Cross stone turned into deep black colour in splendour and started sweating water in a large quantity. Fr. Gaspar Coelho, the vicar of the church, was celebrating the Eucharist. After the Holy Communion in the Eucharist, he dipped a purificator in the water and placed it in a chalice. At the end of the miracle the Cross became very splendid and bright in appearance and dried itself slowly by acquiring its own original granite colour. The very next day when the vicar examined the water dipped purificator, he found it as if it were soaked in blood. This miracle used to happen almost every year on Dec. 18 in the course of a few years.<sup>69</sup> The Portuguese missionaries informed the Holy See about this continuous miraculous phenomenon of the Cross and had a feast approved by the Holy Father in its honour on Dec. 18 as "*Commemoratio Miraculi Petrae S. Thomae Apostoli*".<sup>70</sup>

The St. Thomas Cross is considered as belonging to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, because the *Sassanian Pahlavi* inscription found running round the edge of the Cross is calculated to have existed in the period between 6-8 centuries.<sup>71</sup> A Biblical reference found inscribed at the foot of the Cross is Gal 6:14 "But far be it for me to glory except in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ through whom the world has been crucified to me and I to the world".

The miraculous cross is very rich in symbolism. The main symbolic attractions of this Cross are the descending position of the dove on the top of the Cross, the empty Cross without crucified Christ, the blooming buds like four end of the Cross, the three steps at the bottom of the Cross, and the upward and downward semicircular structures in between the Cross and the steps. Biblical, theological and cultural dimensions of Christian life are brought forward by these symbols.

### 1. Biblical

The descending Holy Spirit in the form of a dove on the top of the Cross expresses the Pauline theology of resurrection found in Rom 8:11, i.e. the Spirit of Him who raised

<sup>68</sup> C.PAYNGOT, "Marthoma Slivayum Diceber 18 Thirunalum" (Malayalam), in J.VELLIAN (ed.) *Aradhanakrma Vijnanakosam* (Malayalam), OIRSI 267 (Kottayam 2003) 654.

<sup>69</sup> A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle homas in the city of Mylapore*, p.40.

<sup>70</sup> *Ordo celebratione "Qudasa" iuxta usum Ecclesiae Syro-Malabarensis*, Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiae Orientali (Rome 1959) 63; J.KATTOOR (tr.), *Kudasayude Aghoshakramam* (Malayalam) HIRS publication (Changanassery 1998) 64.

<sup>71</sup> Several attempts were made in 1561, 1873, 1874 and 1929 to decipher the inscriptions. Numerous are the different translations given to the inscriptions and none of them is found to be satisfactory. Among them C.P.T.Winckworth's translation in 1929 is the generally accepted one at present, which reads as follows: "My Lord Christ, have mercy on Afras son of Chaharbukht, the Syrian who cut this", see "A New Interpretation of Pahlavi Cross Inscriptions of Southern India", *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1929) 238-240. For the other translations, see A.P. de ANDREADE, *The Apostle St. Thomas in the City of Mylapore*, p.40-41; J.VAZHUTHANAPALLY, *Archaeology of Mar Sliba*, p.10-11.

Jesus, will give resurrection to our mortal bodies too. The biblical reference Gal 6:14 at the bottom of the Cross, manifests the glory of the Cross in Christian life. The up and down semicircular structures in between the Cross and the steps have two Biblical symbolism, such as 1. The leaves of the tree of life in Paradise (Gen 2:9) signifying the leaves of medicine for the healing of sins (Ez 47:12), 2. The four rivers watering the garden of Eden (Gen 2:10) symbolising the streams of grace opened through the Cross to enrich the Christian life.

## 2. Theological

The empty Cross, like the empty tomb signifies the resurrection of the Lord. The four ends of the Cross like blooming buds symbolise the new life proclaimed at the resurrection of Jesus. The three steps at the bottom of the Cross indicate the steps to climb the Calvary for attaining divine glory through suffering.

## 3. Cultural

The cultural dimension of this Cross is drawn from the upward and downward semicircular structures found in between the Cross and the steps. This is considered as a cross-section of a lotus flower,<sup>72</sup> the national flower of India. The setting up of this Cross

on this flower indicates the establishment of Christianity in India. As the lotus plant rooted in mud and surrounded by muddy water, produces pure and unspotted lotus flower, so too we, who are rooted in and surrounded by worldly affairs, have to lead a holy life with lofty mind and pure heart.

## IV Special Devotions to the Apostle Thomas

The devotion to the Apostle Thomas is very deep among the Thomas Christians in India. The Syro-malabar Church in its liturgical calendar observes four different commemoration days in honour of the Apostle Thomas. They are the Mar Thoma Friday, Mar Thoma Sunday, Mar Thoma Martyr day, and Mar Thoma *Sliba* day.<sup>73</sup>

### 1. Mar Thoma Friday

Fridays of the period of Epiphany (*Denha*) in the East Syrian tradition commemorates those saints who have given witness to Christ during their lifetime. Among these Fridays, the 7<sup>th</sup> Friday, the last but one Friday of *Denha* season, is dedicated to the patron saint of the Church,<sup>74</sup> who has concretised the faith in Christ among the Thomas Christians in India by witnessing Jesus to them. St. Thomas the Apostle is commemorated on this Friday as the patron saint of Thomas Christians,

<sup>72</sup> The lotus flower became the symbol of Buddhism with Buddha (560-488/87 BC) who propagated the principles of *Dharma* (truth). Buddhism was widespread and got predominance in India during the time of Asoka, the emperor of India (273-232/31 BC) who was a strong patron of Buddhism. Cf. L.A. WADDELL, "Lotus (Indian)", in J. HASTINGS (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 8 (New York 1964) p. 67 (July 3) and p. 63 (Dec. 18).

<sup>73</sup> *Ordo celebrationis*, p. 46 (7<sup>th</sup> Friday of *Denha*); p. 51 (2<sup>nd</sup> Sunday of Resurrection); p. 67 (July 3); p. 63 (Dec. 18); J. KATTOOR (tr.), *Kudasayude Aghoshakramam*, p. 49, 54, 69, 64.

<sup>74</sup> For the proper of this day, see *Supplementum Mysteriorum sive proprium missarum de tempore et sanctis iuxta ritum Ecclesiae Syro-Malabarensis*, Sacra Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale 947/48 (Rome 1960) 44-46; V. PATHIKULANGARA (ed. & tr.), *The Crown of the Year*, Denha Services 46, vol. 1 (Kottayam 1997), p. 150-157.

because he is the embodier and example of revealed Gospel truths among Thomas Christians in the Indian context. The theme of the composite Gospel lesson of this day Mt 24:45-47; 25:14-23 speaks about the faithful servant and the parable of the talents. The Apostle was the faithful servant of the Lord in using the talents given to him by the Master in proclaiming the Gospel among the Thomas Christians in India.

## 2. Mar Thoma Sunday

The second Sunday of Resurrection is dedicated to the Apostle Thomas in most rites in memory of his faith proclamation in the risen Lord (Jn 20:28 "My Lord and my God"). This Sunday is known also as the "New Sunday",<sup>75</sup> because it was on this Sunday the first proclamation of a new Christian faith in the risen Lord was declared by the Apostle Thomas. For the Malabar Christians this is the Sunday of pilgrimage to Malayatore Mountain near Angamaly, Kerala. This mountain is a pilgrim centre dedicated to St. Thomas, because they believe that the Apostle Thomas spent forty days in prayer and abstinence on this mountain.<sup>76</sup>

## 3. Mar Thoma Martyr Day

July 3 is the commemoration day of the martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas.<sup>77</sup> In the Malayalam language this day is known also as *Thorana*, which is a derivation of Syriac term *Dukrana* meaning "commemoration". Among Malabar Christians it is an obligatory commemoration day in memory of the Apostle's martyrdom at Mylapore on July 3, 72. An ancient practice of this day was the preparation of an annual funeral meal known as *Chatham* or *Srardham*, a Hindu custom of satiation in honour of diseased ancestors, and its distribution among the devotees. Malabar Christians might have adapted this custom of practice to the anniversary day of the Apostle's death.<sup>78</sup>

## 4. Mar Thoma Sliba Day

December 18 is the Memorial Day of the miraculous stone Cross at St. Thomas Mount church at Mylapore.<sup>79</sup> Due to the miraculous bleeding of the Cross, it is believed that this Cross might have been carved on the stone stained with the Apostle's blood at his martyrdom.<sup>80</sup> Devotion to this Cross is so great among Thomas Christians that they

<sup>75</sup> J.MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, OCA 27, (Rome 1959) 243. For the proper of the day, see *Supplementum Mysteriorum*, 95-97; V.PATHIKULANGARA (ed. & tr.), *The Crown of the Year*, Denha Services 47, vol.2 (Kottayam 1997) 35-41.

<sup>76</sup> For a detailed information about this place and the shrine of St. Thomas at Malayatore Mountain, see *St. Thomas 19<sup>th</sup> Centenary Souvenir*, Malayatore 1972; V.PATHIKULANGARA, "The Liturgical Year of the Syro Malabar Rite", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 90 (1976) 186.

<sup>77</sup> For the proper of this day, see *Supplementum Mysteriorum*, p.225-226; V.PATHIKULANGARA (ed. & tr.), *The Crown of the Year*, Denha Services 47, vol.2, p.324-330.

<sup>78</sup> A.M.MUNDADAN, *History of Christianity in India*, p.34. For the commemoration of this day in other Churches, see C.PAYNGOT, *Thirunalukal*, p.361-362.

<sup>79</sup> For the proper of this day, see *Supplementum Mysteriorum*, p.174-175; V.PATHIKULANGARA (ed. & tr.), *The Crown of the Year*, Denha Services 46, vol.1, p.294-300.

<sup>80</sup> See note 67.

venerate this Cross in places of worship, at homes and in prayer sessions. Ancient models of this Cross resembling that of the miraculous Cross in St. Thomas Mount church, Mylapore, are found even today in churches at Alangad, Changanassery, Kadamattom, Kaduthuruthy, Kothanellur, Kottayam, Kuravilangad, Muttuchira, Niranam, Pallipuram, Palayur, Paravur etc.

### Conclusion

The Malabar and Mylapore traditions in their substance contain enough matter on the

Apostle's life and death in India. No any rival tradition of his martyrdom is found against the present Indian one. Neither rival tomb of the Apostle nor rivals Thomas Christians are found anywhere in the world. Therefore the Malabar and Mylapore traditions are sufficient enough to prove the apostolic works and his martyrdom in south India. Let the faith brought by the Apostle to India, grow deeper and deeper in witnessing Christ to the world.



### FORM OF DECLARATION

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Place of Publication                      | : 580/XIV, Manganam, Kottayam 18  |
| 2. Periodicity of Publication                | : Quarterly   |
| 3. Printer's name, Nationality and address   | : Dr. Thomas Mannoorampampil<br>Indian, 288/XIII, P.B.I, Kottayam 686 010 |
| 4. Publisher's name, Nationality and address | : Dr. Thomas Mannoorampampil<br>Indian, 288/XIII, P.B.I, Kottayam 686 010 |
| 5. Editor's name, Nationality and address    | : Dr. Thomas Mannoorampampil<br>Indian, 288/XIII, P.B.I, Kottayam 686 010 |
| 6. Owner's name                              | : Christian Orient Trust, 580/XIV<br>Manganam, Kottayam 686 018           |

I hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

March 1, 2005

Sd/-

Dr. Thomas Mannoorampampil  
Publisher

# THE LOVE OF CHRIST TOWARDS THE MIGRANTS

Thomas Thengumpallil

Migration is a world wide social phenomenon that has attracted the attention of governments over the world as well as of the Church. The various documents that Church has issued, from time to time, bear testimony to the concern of the Church toward people on the move. The recent Roman instruction on migration entitled, *Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* (the love of Christ towards the Migrants), promulgated by the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, dated 3 May 2004 and published on 14 May, is the latest in this regard. This document invites our attention to various issues involved in migration, especially that of the faithful of Oriental Churches. Migration, which is ever on the increase and exerts its influence on social, cultural, political, religious, economic and pastoral aspects of our contemporary milieu, offers both challenges and opportunities to governments as well as to Church. The present Instruction is an attempt from the part of the Church to respond to the pastoral needs of the migrants so as to offer them assistance to grow further in their Christian life. The faith and the deep religious experience, the migrants carry with them to their land of new choice, can be a catalyst in evangelizing people amidst whom they live. The document, as it is stated in its presentation, "aims to apply accurately the norms contained

both in the Code of Canon Law for the Latin Church and in the Code of Canon Law of the Eastern Churches".

*Erga Migrantes Caritas Christi* addresses itself to different groups of people on the move: people, who are categorized on the basis of language, culture, ethnicity, tradition and those belonging to particular Churches *Sui iuris*. One of the important characteristic features of this document is that its concern extends far beyond those in the Catholic fold to migrants who are non-catholic, non-Christians and has special references to Muslims. Thus it opens up the possibilities for ecumenical activities and inter-religious dialogue even as the Church engages itself with the migrant people. Another important feature of this document is the special emphasis it places on the "the pastoral needs of the emigrant faithful of the Eastern Churches". The intention of this essay is to assess the practicability of the provisions of this document in the Indian context, especially in the case of Syro- Malabar migrants.

## Contents of the Instruction

The instruction, *erga migrantes caritas Christi* is a comparatively lengthy document with two main sections. The first part gives an extensive exposition of different aspects of migration from theological, biblical, pastoral and

sociological viewpoints; second provides a number of juridical and pastoral regulations. First section has got four parts with an introduction explaining the challenges of human mobility in the contemporary society. The first part consists of an account of the experience of migration in the Holy Scriptures and in the history of the Church and the response of the Church in the past to the phenomenon of migration through various documents, II Vatican Council decrees, canonical norms and the pastoral care imparted through different entities of Holy See. The second part, titled, 'Migrants and the pastoral care of welcome', treats the issues of inculturation, catholic migrants, eastern Catholic migrants, non-Catholics and migrants of other religions, especially Muslims. Part three speaks of the different persons engaged in imparting pastoral care to the migrants. And the last part of the first section deals with various structures of missionary pastoral care.

The instruction concludes with a set of "juridico-pastoral regulations". In fact these norms are not anything new and are already found in the earlier documents. This document has updated and presented them with accuracy and precision. These norms specify the duties, tasks and roles of those who are engaged in the pastoral works and of various Church organs in charge of the pastoral care of the migrants.

### FOCAL POINTS OF THE INSTRUCTION

The Instruction speaks of both international and domestic migration and highlights some of the reasons for it. "The

root causes of this phenomenon are many, economic, ethnic, political, religious. The two poles of poverty and well-being cause social instability and flux".<sup>1</sup> The document expresses Church's deep concern towards woman, children and families who face grave difficulties as migrants. It warns against the danger of treating human beings just like any other factor of production and depriving the migrant working class even the most elementary human rights.

A biblical analysis of the phenomenon of migration would show that the history of salvation was a history of migration. From Abraham to "Jesus Christ the 'foreigner' and Mary, the living symbol of the emigrants", all the important figures of the Scripture were migrants. The hospitality of the early Church towards the itinerant missionaries and poor members of various communities were exemplary. The Church has expressed its solicitude for migrants and refugees through various documents. From *Exsul Familia* (1952, Pope Pius XII) to the Second Vatican Council documents, the Instruction *De Pastoralis migratorum Cura* (1969, Pope Paul VI) and subsequent canonical norms, Church has been in the process of establishing theological, canonical and pastoral norms for the care of migrants. All these documents highlighted that "pastoral care of migrants means welcome, respect, protection, promotion and genuine love of every person in his or her religious and cultural expressions".

*The inevitable consequence of migration is that it creates cultural and religious pluralism, which makes "inculturation" something indispensable. The host*

<sup>1</sup> George Nedungatt, Migrants: Problem Or Chance?, *Journal of St. Thomas Christians*, April-June, 2004, p. 62

*communities should develop a culture of welcome and solidarity towards the migrants. The document extensively treats the pastoral care for Catholics, both of the Latin and Eastern rites, responses to the pastoral questions of the migrants belonging to other Churches or Ecclesial communities and relation with the followers of other religions. The role of Episcopal conferences, chaplains and missionaries, national coordinators, eparchial presbyters, members of religious institutes and laity and lay associations in the pastoral care of the migrants are specified. Provisions are given for the erection of various structures for the pastoral care of migrants.*

## MIGRANTS OF EASTERN CHURCHES

The migrants of Eastern Churches are given due importance in the Instruction, *Erga migrantes caritas Christi*. "This is a new accent in a Roman document that is not issued by the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Usually the other Roman documents have the vast majority of the Latin faithful in view, while the minorities of Orientals are overlooked"<sup>2</sup>. This Clearly indicates that Church is today aware of the presence as well as the increasing arrival of the Oriental migrants to the Western lands. Primarily the document reminds the faithful of their juridical obligation to observe their own rites in so far as possible. Quoting CCEO c. 38, 32, CIC c. 112§1,2 the document reaffirms that oriental faithful, wherever they may be, are still inscribed as members of their own Church *Sui iuris*. The duty of the Latin diocesan bishops to appoint personal pastors and Episcopal vicars and erect personal parishes, for the oriental rite migrants, are stressed following the directions given in the II Vatican council documents.

Speaking of the liturgical celebrations it is said, "the sacred liturgy celebrated in the rite of their own Church *Sui Iuris* is important as a safeguard of the spiritual identity of Catholic migrants of the East as is also the use of their language in religious worship". Against the hasty attempts to insert the migrants into the local territorial parishes the document warns, "the uprooting that moving abroad inevitably involves (from country of origin, family, language, etc.) should not be made worse by uprooting the migrant from his religious rite or identity too".

## PASTORAL PROVISIONS IN THE INSTRUCTION

The document gives a number of provisions for the pastoral care of the migrant. It is the right of the faithful to get, and the duty of the pastors to provide spiritual assistance. With their presence or domicile migrants are part of a parish and a diocese and so the parish priest and the diocesan bishop has the duty to care for them. When they are numerous the Churches of their arrival also have the responsibility to provide them suitable pastoral assistance. The migrants should be given due representation in the diocesan and parochial pastoral councils. The main provisions may be listed:

1. Chaplains and missionaries- they are presbyters who are appointed specially for the migrants.
2. In countries where there are many Chaplains/missionaries for migrants, a national coordinator should be appointed.
3. The religious institutes of both men and women are encouraged to take up missions among the migrants (art. 12-15).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p.51

4. It is the duty of the diocesan bishop to devote special care to migrant faithful (art.16 §1).

5. He is to entrust the duty to care for the migrants to the parish priests of his own eparchy or appoint chaplains of their own culture, language and rite.

6. He shall ask any necessary help from the migrants' Church of origin.

7. If necessary, the eparchial bishop shall appoint an Episcopal vicar with the charge of directing the pastoral care of migrants.

8. If it is necessary, he is to erect personal parishes and missions for the care of souls (*missiones cum cura animarum*) of migrants (art.16 §2).

9. It is the duty of the eparch to ensure that the Christian faithful of another church *Sui iuris* entrusted to his care preserve the rite of their own Church (No.26, CCEO c. 193§1).

Apart from this the document reaffirms the provisions for erecting special hierarchical structures for individual churches given in the documents of II Vatican Council (OE 4) and in the Codes of Canon Law (CCEO C. 148§3).

By a close observation, we may note that the provisions given in the document are not new. They are already found in the former instructions on the pastoral care of migrants or in the Codes of Canon Law. However, the relevance of this document is that it reaffirms the provisions for the pastoral care

of migrants and expresses the will of the Church to implement them diligently. But in case of oriental migrants in the Latin territories the implementation of all these norms are at the mercy of the Latin Bishops. In fact, there is no scarcity of the instructions or the juridical norms, but an answer to the question of the consequences of not implementing the directions is lacking in them. A Latin Bishop can implement or not implement them according to his will. The synod of bishops and the patriarch /major archbishop have no power to enact any of these provisions outside the proper territory of their own Church *Sui iuris*. Therefore the Oriental Catholics have to depend upon the goodwill of the Latin hierarchs for their legitimate rights.

In the history of the Church, we see the application of these norms and its consequences even before the II Vatican council. A concrete example is found in the case of Malabar migration<sup>3</sup> i.e., the migration of thousands of people from central and southern Kerala to northern Kerala in the middle of twentieth century. In discussing the problem of the pastoral care of Syro-malabar migrants it will be helpful, as a specimen, to see how these provisions for the care of migrants was applied in the case of Malabar migrants.

### Migration to Malabar

The migration of farmers from the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin in search of arable land began as early as in 1920s, but became a strong movement in 1940s. Poverty and unavailability of

<sup>3</sup> By the word 'Malabar' the northern part of the civil state of Kerala is denoted. It should not be confused with Syro-Malabar Church

agricultural land were the main causes of this flow.<sup>4</sup> Though the people who migrated to these regions belonged to various religious denominations, the vast majority of them hail from the St. Thomas Christians. They settled in the present civil districts of Palaghat, Malappuram, Calicut, Kannur and Kasargod in Kerala, Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu, South Canara, Uduppi, Shimoga, Chikmangalore, Hassan, Mandya, Mysore and Kodagu in Karnataka.

As we know from the history, in 1896 the territory of Syro-malabar Church was circumscribed to the area between the rivers Pamba and Bharathapuzha. As the migrants crossed the Bharathapuzha they had to settle in the territory of the Latin diocese of Calicut. The bishop and most of the priests of that diocese were foreigners and they worked among the Latin Catholics who mainly concentrated on the coastal areas of Malabar. But, they cared for the migrants as far as they could. In 1947 the Bishop of Calicut invited the Carmalites of Mary Immaculate to attend to the spiritual needs of the migrants.<sup>5</sup>

The settlers sent many petitions to the Oriental Congregation in Rome, to the Delegate Apostolic in Bangalore and to their own bishops in Kerala for the establishment of an ecclesiastical organization taking into account their traditions and that too in their own mother tongue.

## Erection of the eparchy of Tellicherry

In 1952 an Episcopal vicar was appointed for the settlers by the bishop of Calicut. The then secretary of Oriental Congregation, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, a person who loved the Indian Church so much, visited Kerala in November 1953. In order to evaluate and to have a first hand experience of the situation in Malabar, he visited Peravoor, the very first colony of the settlers. After reaching back in Rome, Cardinal Tisserant took necessary steps to erect a new diocese of Syro- Malabar Church for the migrants in Malabar.<sup>6</sup>

It was against this backdrop that Pope Pius XII issued the Bull *Ad Christi Ecclesiam Regendam* on 31 December 1953, erecting the new eparchy of Tellicherry as a suffragan of Ernakulam. But the boundaries of this ecclesiastical province were the same as those of the Calicut Diocese. On account of the fact that the migrants went further to the states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, the boundaries of the eparchy of Tellicherry were extended to the boundaries of the Latin dioceses of Mangalore, Chickmanglore, Mysore, Shimoga and Ootakamund by the decree *Pro Fidelibus* issued by the Holy See on 29 April 1955.

Instead of establishing a Syro-Malabar eparchy, the diocese of Calicut proposed a new Latin diocese for the migrants. We have

<sup>4</sup> Mar Sebastian Valloppilly, *Daivam Nammodukoode(mal)*, Thalasserry, 1999, pp. 91-94

<sup>5</sup> F. Thonippara, "The CMIs and Malabar Migration", Paper presented in the National Seminar on Migration, Tellicherry, 26-30 Nov. 2003.

<sup>6</sup> George Kudilil, "The delimitation of the Jurisdictional territory of the Thomas Christian Church and the Erection of the Eparchy of Tellicherry- an Historical over view". Paper presented at the Historical Seminar at Chennai, January 17-19, 2004.

to remember that there were no Latin Catholics among the Migrants and the total number of Latin Christians in the Calicut diocese was only 17200 as against 75000 Syro-Malabarians.<sup>7</sup> Numerical strength, unity and the consciousness of their own rite were so strong in the migrants that no objections from Latins or others could stand against the desire for their own diocese. The great visionary Eugene Cardinal Tisserant had the strong conviction that only under the leadership of their own priests the spiritual, social, economic and other day-to-day problems of the migrants could be tackled. Past fifty year's history of Malabar proved that this conviction was absolutely right. Almost all the roads, bridges, schools and other public facilities of the hillsides were constructed under the leadership of the diocesan priests. The faith life of the Migrants was ordered as good as it was in their homeland. The number of vocations from the migrants even outnumbered the traditional dioceses in the central and Southern part of Kerala. It can be said, without hesitation, that all these growth and developments in the ecclesiastical and social spheres of Malabar Christians became possible because of the leadership of a Syro-malabar hierarchy.

### Some statistical observations

A statistical comparison will help us to understand better the tremendous progress achieved by this eparchy of migrants within fifty years. In the place of one eparchy of Tellicherry, at present there are one Archeparchy and three saffragan eparchies in

Malabar. In the first bifurcation of 1973 the eparchy of Mananthavady was erected. In 1986 Tellicherry was again divided and the eparchy of Thamarasserry was created. In 1999 the eparchy of Belthangady was created to serve the needs of the Syrian Catholics of Dakshina Kannada, Uduppi and Kodagu in Karnataka State. The eparchy of Tellicherry when erected had 75000 Catholics, 21 parishes, 12 priests, and one high school and there was not even a single religious house. But today, the total Syro- Malabar Catholic population of the Metropolitan province of Tellicherry is 5,86,724. There are 537 parishes, 609 diocesan priests, 366 religious priests, 3818 religious women, 634 educational institutions and hundreds of other institutions.<sup>8</sup> The systematic catechetical formation, pious associations and other movements helped a lot in the faith life of the settlers. For the last fifteen years, among the eparchies of India, Tellicherry has the first place in promoting the vocations.

### PASTORAL CARE OF MIGRANTS IN THE PRESENT DOCUMENT AND MALABAR MIGRATION

An interesting observation we can make from the history of Malabar migrants is that most of the provisions for the pastoral care of migrants, given in the instruction *erga migrantes caritas Christi*, were experimented and found to be inadequate for the proper pastoral care of them. First, the priests of the Latin rite and then together with them the Syrian priests ascribed to the Latin diocese of Calicut tried to provide the pastoral care

<sup>7</sup> Statistics from the diocesan curia of Calicut, June 1953.

<sup>8</sup> *Annuario Pontificio*, 2004.

needed for the settlers; Twenty one parishes were established exclusively for migrants. Syro-Malabar priests of CMI Congregation were invited to shepherd them. A Vicar General was appointed to look after their cause. But within three or four years these arrangements proved to be unsatisfactory, ineffective and insufficient. Wherever there are a good number of migrants, it is always better for the care of souls to establish a hierarchical structure of their own rite. Cardinal Tisserant had such a vision.

### **Syro-Malabar migrants within and outside India**

Migration is an inevitable part of every society as evidenced by the history of mankind. It is true in the case of Syro-Malabar community of Kerala also. The general tendency of migration is that people moved from rural areas to urban centers in search of more job opportunities, higher wages, better means of sustenance and improved living conditions. The migration to Malabar was a case of difference. In this case people migrated to less developed Malabar and turned virgin forestland into crop producing lands. Yet, seeking the same amenities, another trend of migration took place between urban centers, i.e., from smaller cities to bigger cities within the country, or at international level.

India also witnessed several patterns of internal and external migrations in the modern era. Coffee, tea, rubber, and other cash crop plantations in different parts of the country as well as construction activities and industrial enterprises in big cities like Madras, Bombay, and New Delhi generated a stream of internal movement of skilled and unskilled workers.

The development of IT based industries in the mega cities and the better education facilities also accelerated the internal migration in the recent years. The latter half of the twentieth century was chiefly marked by migration of Indians to the Gulf countries as more employment opportunities have been opened with the development of petroleum industries. Moreover, several thousands of skilled and professionally qualified people of India preferred to emigrate to England, United States of America, Canada and Australia during this period.

Among these a considerable number of migrants are from Kerala, which is the most thickly populated state of India. The Apostolic visitation of the Syro-malabar migrants made by late Cardinl Antony Padiyara in 1978-1980 brought into light the presence of large number of Syro-Malabar communities in various cities of India. Except those who come under the eparchy of Kalyan, all the migrants, who are enumerated in the Apostolic Visitor's report, are still under the care of Latin Bishops.

Within the last twenty-five years the number of migrants in these cities increased three or four fold. But it is a fact that the pastoral care for them has not improved proportionately. Erection of the eparchy of Kalyan in 1988 was the only exception. The erection of the eparchy of Chicago for the Syro-Malabar migrants, in USA, in the year 2001, was another remarkable step as far as the pastoral care of migrants outside India is concerned. In most other cases the instructions given for the pastoral care of Eastern Catholic migrants are overlooked. In Bangalore the provision for personal parishes are effectively

and generously applied. In most other places the appointment of personal pastors and erection of the personal parishes are insufficient and often neglected. The direction in the earlier instructions and legislations regarding the appointment of the Episcopal vicar for the migrants is not observed anywhere.

The situation in Bangalore may be evaluated as an example of the present situation of the pastoral care of Syro-malabar Catholics living outside the proper territory. According to the statistics given in the report of the apostolic visitor<sup>9</sup>, in 1980 the Syro-Malabar population in Bangalore was 11,529. After twenty-five years of submission of this report, today, 5000 families have enrolled in the 15 Syro-Malabar parishes and a number of others in the Latin parishes<sup>10</sup>. The number of students and workers who are not enrolled in any of the parish registers, in the city, are still higher.

### The Need of the Times

One of the purposes of the new Roman document *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* is to "apply accurately" the norms for the pastoral care of emigrant faithful of Eastern Churches. It needs to be seen how effectively these provisions will be implemented. The problem is not so much the lack of instructions but the lack of willingness to apply them properly. The provisions in the instruction are especially good for places where the numbers of migrant faithful are small. But where there are large numbers of faithful, establishment of

an eparchy is needed for the integral growth of the Oriental communities. Migrants, when they arrive at a new place, struggle to adjust and adapt to the new social, cultural and religious scenario. They are uprooted and alienated from their own homeland and familiar surroundings and have to adapt to a culture and language that is foreign to them. Religious sphere may be the only area where they experience solidarity and support in an otherwise estranged situation. But unfortunately, for the oriental catholic migrants even this is not easily forthcoming as they are denied a chance to attend liturgical services in their own rite and language.

In fact, in Indian context erection of Syro-Malabar eparchies for the migrants in all the major cities is an urgent necessity. This will not have any negative impact on the functioning of the Latin dioceses. On the contrary, presence of Oriental eparchies will be complimentary to the witness given by the Latin dioceses and will open up possibilities for promoting pastoral collaboration. This is not a mere hypothetical contention. The advantages of erecting Syro-malabar eparchies for migrants were proved in Tellicherry. The arguments that it is an unnecessary duplication and gives counter witness to people were shown to be more a hypothetical fear than factual in the Tellicherry experience. Therefore in places like Bangalore, Madras or Delhi, where a large number of migrants are present, the best way for a fruitful pastoral care is to erect an eparchy of their own rite.

<sup>9</sup> Antony Padiyara, Report of the Apostolic Visitation of the Syro-Malabar Rite Emigrants living in the Latin Dioceses of India outside Kerala, *Journal of St. Thomas Christians*, 11,2(October-December 2000), 83.

<sup>10</sup> John Marius CMI, "Pastoral Care of Syro-Malabar Immigrants at Bangalore", Paper presented at a seminar on *Erga migrantes caritas Christi*, Dharmaram College, Bangalore, 20 August 2004.

Neglect of the pastoral care of migrants in their own Church for a considerable length of time would mean uprooting them from their mother church and absorbing the next generation into the Latin Church. Once they are alienated from their mother Church for a long period of time, a reintroduction to their own rite may be considered as an imposition of unwanted burden. The danger in denying the pastoral care in one's own rite is that, the migrants themselves may lose the sense of the richness of their own rite. For example, in 1955, when a Syro-Malabar parish was established in Mananthavady, migrants, who were under the Latin parish for a long time, objected to it vehemently.<sup>11</sup>

## Conclusion

*It is hoped that the lessons from the history of the Malabar migration would motivate and encourage the Syro-Malabar migrants residing at different parts of India to make serious efforts for their own eparchies and extension of the territory of Syro-Malabar Church. The unprecedented significance of the eparchy of Tellicherry is that it was at the initiative of the laity, the movement of migration as well as the struggle for its erection progressed. Personal parishes are not able to include all the migrants and are insufficient to satisfy their pastoral needs. Pastoral care does not mean just the administration of sacraments. It should include an integral growth of the people. That was and continues to be the experience of people of Malabar. The story of the struggles and success of the eparchy of Tellicherry would reveal that this eparchy did not limit its activities merely to the spiritual sphere but it was at the forefront of every struggle that people had to endure be it social, cultural, economic or any other.*

Second Vatican Council speaks of the 'promotion, preservation and growth' of the

*Sui iuris* churches (OE 4). The growth includes the growth of the territory also. An eparchy inside the territorial boundaries of the Church *Sui iuris* only can actualize the insights of II Vatican Council in its totality. The Synod of bishops can look after its subjects in a better way only within the territory. Since the northern boundary of the present proper territory of Syro-Malabar Church is up to Mandya in the civil state of Karnataka, a natural extension of the territory of Syro-Malabar Church may be occasioned by the erection of a Syro-Malabar eparchy in Bangalore. It is hoped that in not so distant future a Syro-Malabar eparchy may be erected in Bangalore with an extension of the proper territory of Syro-Malabar Church.

The provisions for the pastoral care of migrants in the document, *erga migrantes caritas Christi*, are well thought out and extensive. But effective application of most of these provisions depends upon the mercy of the local Latin bishops. Therefore, the urgent need is to implement the provisions in the II Vatican council documents and the Codes of Canon Law regarding the establishment of eparchies and the extension of the territory of a *Sui iuris* Church. Canon 148 of CCEO empowers the Patriarch/Major Archbishop to appoint a visitor to get appropriate information concerning the members of his Church who reside outside its territorial boundaries. The last visitation of such a nature took place twenty-five years ago by Cardinal Antony Padiyara. It is an opportune time for the Synod of bishops of the Syro-Malabar Church to take steps to appoint a new visitor to get a clear picture of the present situation of its faithful outside the *territorium proprium*.

<sup>11</sup> Mar Sebastian Valloppilly, Daivam Nammodukoodu(mal), Thalasserry, 1999, pp.298-299

# LITURGY AND ETHICS

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## INTRODUCTION

Liturgy, the public worship of the Church, is the response of veneration in the face of the recognised presence of God. Liturgy's primary role is praising of and thanksgiving to God<sup>1</sup>. It is powerful enough to draw Christian faithful into deeper communion with God, an experience that can transform people and make not only a personal but also a social difference. It is the theological vision about the divine transformation of the people of God in worship so that they become disciples of Jesus, builders of Kingdom in the world and in their lives. At the same time it has a person and community forming power, an ethical formative role. How is it related?

From a socio-personal approach to ethics, Christian social ethics may be defined, as the attempt to answer the questions, how ought I/we to live? Why ought I/we to live in this way? What kinds

of communities should we create?<sup>2</sup> While liturgy is vertically oriented towards the praise of God, glorification of God, ethics is oriented horizontally toward right action through reflection, sanctification of wo/man, hence both find their origin in Christian faith and so are mutually related. Without this creative tensive relationship, liturgy would be disembodied and irrelevant to people's lives and ethics would be purely functional and without a transcendent grounding. Participation in worship forms or should form the character of Christians whose subsequent actions unfold a Christian witness in the world<sup>3</sup>. The Church has function in the formation of the person.<sup>4</sup>

## 1. Glorification of God through Sanctification of Humans

Is it possible to celebrate liturgy honestly when it is surrounded, and even enmeshed in situations of real injustice?<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. E. FINK (ed.), *Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*, Collegeville, 1990, p. 740, p1331. see also, J. B. THOMPSON (ed), *Language and symbolic*, Cambridge, 1991, p.113.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. KAMMER, *Ethics and Liberation*, New York, 1988, pp. 141-142.

<sup>3</sup> C. B. SCHAREN, "Lois, Liturgy and Ethics" in *Annual of the Society of Christian Ethics*, 20 (2000) 275-305, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. GUSTAFSON, Christian Faith and Moral Action, "in *The Christian Century* 82) (1965) 1345 - 1347, p. 1345.

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"Christian ethicist's understanding of morality is diminished without the context of liturgy and the rule of faith"<sup>6</sup> For him, the relation between liturgy and ethics is *lex orandi lex credendi lex bene operandi*, which means the order of praying is the order of believing is the order of doing good. It shows the three activities of the Church, praying, believing and well-doing. No subordination is implied of one or two of these actions to a third in which Christian life more fundamentally consists.<sup>7</sup> It means that there are significant links between liturgical life, the confession of faith, and the concrete works, which flow from these. How we pray and worship is linked to how we live to our desires, attitudes, beliefs and actions. At the foundations of Christian faith, liturgy and ethics are bound together internally. This link is not causal and extrinsic, but conceptual and intrinsic. The rule of faith is also the rule of liturgy and the rule of Christian ethics. the liturgical action of the Church comes first, faith and the moral life follows; hence liturgy has a person - and community -

forming power<sup>8</sup>. The entire personality in community is educated in the prayers of adoration, confession, petition, intercession, and consecration, so that we are elevated, abased, judged and driven forth in sacrificial service of the world.<sup>9</sup> Thus it serves the purpose of community formation and the formation of Christian moral character. Liturgical worship invites its participants to be disposed of community formation and the formation of Christian moral character. Liturgical worship invites its participants to be disposed toward the world. Those who say that they love God and who are not disposed to love and serve the neighbour are misunderstanding the words and actions of liturgical worship. It is an occasion to lean and say about the nature of Christian worship by thinking about the range and scope of what it means to pray.<sup>10</sup>

Christian social ethics is embedded in a form life which is portrayed and shaped by the whole biblical narrative found in Scriptures, which provides a way of placing human life before the face of God.

<sup>5</sup> T. BALASURYA, *The Eucharist and Human Liberation*, New York, 1977, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> PRAMSEY, "Liturgy and Ethics". In *Journal of Religious Ethics* 7 (1979), 139-171, p. 139.

<sup>7</sup> PRAMSEY, "Liturgy and Ethics", p. 139., P. DEATS (ed), *Toward A Discipline of social Ethic*, Boston, 1972, P 106.

<sup>8</sup> P. RAMSEY, "Liturgy and Ethics", p. 146., M. SEARLE, "Liturgy and Social Ethics: An Annotated Bibliograph" in *Studia Liturgica* 21 (1991) 220 - 235.

<sup>9</sup> P. RAMSEY, "Liturgy and Ethics," p. 146. W. C. SPHON, *Go and Do Likewise: Jesus and Ethics*, New York, 1999, pp. 10-15.

<sup>10</sup> Liturgical celebration is a kind of activity in which human beings explore their life unto God. Through prayers, hymns, sermons, gestures of giving and receiving, acts of reconciliation and exhortations, we are doing something, performing an act. These are the ways of gesturing the self in and through words.

They are not ethical systems or lists of rules and principles as such, rather they portray the qualities of being before God. "The relation between liturgy and ethics are most adequately formulated by specifying how certain affections are formed and expressed in the modalities of communal prayer and ritual action. These modalities of prayer enter into the formation of the self in community."<sup>11</sup> Liturgy is something Christians do together to remember and express their life unto God. It is also a characterising activity because when worship occurs, people are characterised, it gives their life fundamental location and orientation in the world. Worship forms and conveys the awareness of God and the orders of creation and history. Worship both forms and expresses persons in the beliefs, the emotions and attitudes appropriate to the religious life. It shapes the Christian affections, and provides way of expressing the perceived realities of existence. Saliers argues that worship is to find one's existence oriented in attitudes, beliefs, and intentions. What one believes to be true has effects on one's actions. To worship forms and expresses the person's community's orientation to the world. It

is also a fact that all who participate is shaped by it<sup>12</sup>. This is clearly indicated in one of the prayers of Syro-Malabar Eucharistic celebration. "To please the Divinity by good and just work, which appease and reconcile the adorable will of your Majesty"<sup>13</sup>.

## 2. Person and Community - forming Power of Liturgy

Worship is the primary communal mode of remembering the Christian faith and the Christian story. In this very activity, the worshippers articulate their fundamental relations to one another and to the world. It is a fact that all those who participated in it are not shaped by it, because it is related to one's concept of understanding the world in and through the Christian story. All those who participate in the public worship of the Church do not fully understand what it is to say and do those things and to mean them. Those who say that they love God but who are not disposed to love and serve the neighbour are misunderstanding the words and actions of worship. There is always a gap between the ideal values inherent in the prayers and rites and their existential realisation.<sup>14</sup> However, the

<sup>11</sup> D. E. SALIERS, "Liturgy and Ethics: Some New Beginnings," in *Journal of Religious Ethics* 72 (1979) 173-189, p. 175.

<sup>12</sup> D. E. SALIERS, "Liturgy and Ethics", pp. 173-174.

<sup>13</sup> THE SYRO - MALABAR QURBANA, English text. p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Christian moral life is not merely conformity to a set of rules, nor is it sufficient to speak of the imitation of the pattern of moral ideas *per se* nor the adoption of a view of life adequately accounts for the shape of the Christian moral life.

modalities of prayer and liturgical actions are the rule-keeping activities of the affections and virtues. Christian moral life is the embodiment of those affections and virtues, which are international orientation of existence in Jesus Christ. It implies how we understand ourselves in the world and how we ought to live in relation to society, the neighbour and the self, all these are ingredient in our conception of the Christian moral life. What we need is a socio-personal approach to Christian moral life. Individual Christian character is formed by his/her association with the community that embodies the language, rituals, and moral practices from which this particular form of life grows.<sup>15</sup> Liturgy and communal prayer can provide who God is and what his intentions of expressing the necessary process of bringing every aspect character into harmony with God's intention for us in Christ. This is the imaginative power of good liturgy for the formation of character. It is an enlivening of the imagination by image that does justice to the central symbol of our faith.<sup>16</sup> Good liturgy is the fundamental imaginable framework of encounter with God in Christ, which forms intentions in and through the

affections, which take God in Jesus as their goal and ground. The prayer of Christian liturgy faces the ambiguities of our present social context. It is precisely in the world that God is to glorify by doing the works of Christ. Liturgy ascribes glory to God alone; but unless the glorification is shown in works of justice, mercy and love faithful to God's love commandments i. e., sanctification of wo/men, Christian Liturgy is not fully realised.<sup>17</sup> The presence and self-giving of God in the liturgy of Word and sacraments cannot be associated from the neighbour in need. Hence, the creative tension between cultic and ethical activity must be rediscovered.

To what extent the Church as liturgical community makes moral and ethical transformation of persons and society? It is possible by rediscovering the intrinsic link between liturgy and ethics i. e., the glorification of God and the sanctification of wo/man. This link gives us an insight into the relation between true liturgical spirituality and Christian moral vision. In our age and cultural circumstances, liturgy as glorification of God must be connected with ethics as sanctification of wo/man. This is perennial tension between liturgy

<sup>15</sup> S. HAUERWAS, *Can Ethics Be Christian*, Chicago 1975, p. 210.

<sup>16</sup> S. HAUERWAS, *Can Ethics Be Christian*, pp. 213- 233

<sup>17</sup> D. E. SALIERS, "Liturgy and Ethics: Some New Beginnings", p. 180

<sup>18</sup> We can find other relationships between liturgy and ethics: liturgy as motivator of moral behaviour, liturgy can be viewed as the promulgator of moral and ethical policies. Human persons are formed in myriad ways. But

and ethics in Christian life.<sup>18</sup> In the face of inhuman and the demonic powers, can the liturgical order of language and action still animate moral imagination and ethical judgement? What traditions and emerging patterns of worship are most conducive to moral maturity and social wisdom?

### 3. Christian Liturgy and Ethics: Eschatological in Nature

According to Vigen Guroian, moral living is integral to the process of sanctification and *theosis* or divination leading to eternal life.<sup>19</sup> Liturgy brings home to Christian community its responsibility within history. In liturgical celebration the memory of the past makes the present moves because memory is a living act of commemoration and this continual memory of a people regenerates itself. It is in the ethical practice of justice Christian liturgy is being accomplished. This day is thus received as present, as a gift of grace. In this Passover memorial Christian community receives its past a

present and this gift guarantees a promise of a future.<sup>20</sup> Liturgy is a symbolic practice of love of God and love of neighbour. This stress on the historic practice of the liturgy of neighbour inevitably brings about a crisis in liturgy.<sup>21</sup> Since Christ's resurrection the future has already started the presence and what we do today has an already eternal value. The value of ethics is increased, because the future is not only a promise, it has started. Christian social ethics is imbued with this eschatological vision. Christian liberty and moral living arise from the deep soil of the Church's memory of the central salvific events of the faith, soil sown with a vital vision of the eschatology. It is against the view that makes Christian ethics no difference from other religious and secular ethics. Christian social ethics loses its character and capacity to inspire humans to be human when the eschatological vision is impoverished. The decay of liturgical practice seems to be principal sources of the loss of an eschatological vision within the whole of Christian life.<sup>22</sup>

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in the Christian life, the mystery of redemption in the death and resurrection of Christ is the basis and source of the formation of the person. The orientation and maturation of is never a matter of adopting right behaviour or conforming to a *priori* system of ruled actions. What is relevant is the detailed analysis and specification of how the context of liturgy rightly prayed and celebrated, is the school of affections, and more specifically what constitutes faithful and unfaithful liturgy in the formation of the Christian life.

<sup>19</sup> V. GUROIAN, "Liturgy and the Lost Eschatological Vision of Christian Ethics". in *Annual Society of Christian Ethics*, 20 (2000) 227-238, p. 227.

<sup>20</sup> L. M. CHAUVET, *Symbol and Sacrament: A Sacramental Reinterpretation of Christian Existence*, Collegeville, 1995, pp. 228-265.

<sup>21</sup> L. M. CHAUVET, *symbol and Sacrament* : p. 238. The prophets provoked the crisis in ritual. Amos. 6;6, Isaith : 1:10- 17 Jeramiah, 7:1-28, Micah : 6, 6-8, Psalms: 50: 12-15, Sirach: 34: 24-35 1-28. All these texts are against a cult which gives only lip service. They all demand that the heart be in harmony with what the cult expresses what is right and just.

<sup>22</sup> A. SCHEMANN, *Liturgy and Tradition*, New York, 1990, pp. 90-97 A. SCHEMANN, *for the Life of the World*. Crestwood 1973, p. 29. When Christian liturgy becomes distorted or corruptive, Christian ethics may

Christian social ethics today need to recapture this eschatological vision given by liturgy, especially by the Eucharist. What makes Christian social ethics singular or distinctively Christian is not the temporal peace or justice it may or may not effect because other ethics are also capable of it. What make Christian ethics Christian is its eschatological nature and its work of healing and regenerating.<sup>23</sup> It is the work of the creator Logos and Holy Spirit united with humanity in the God incarnate Jesus Christ.<sup>24</sup>

The primary worship of Christian is welcoming the grace of God in their daily lives through inter-human justice. Thus ritual memory and existential memory are linked together through theological faith charity. "The ritual memory of Jesus' death and resurrection is not Christian unless it is verified in an existential memory whose place is none other than the believer's body".<sup>25</sup> It becomes a dangerous memory for the Church as a whole and each believer. From a socio-personal approach to the relation between Christian liturgy and ethics, liturgy is a powerful pedagogy where we learn to consent to the presence of the absence of God, who obliges us to be fully human

fully Christian.

Therese Lysaught argues that liturgy is linked to discipleship. She thinks that liturgy concern with the worship of God and the formation of the Church as community of discipleship. God calls us to be more disciples who live in and toward Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> This following admits of a rich variety of in mode and interpretation. Forms of discipleship are necessarily being context - dependent and historically situated. The test of a liturgically formed identity is social justice. Immersion in the liturgical practice is a *sina qua non* of an authentic and deeply committed Christian life. Discipleship entails a discipline, a disciplining of the whole self to effectively witness to those around them. Liturgical practice provides and indispensable source of moral living. With this dynamics of liturgical tradition, the believers are challenged to consider the ways one lives within the framework of Christian tradition. Christian liturgy in this sense needs to symbolise effectively the Church's incarnational mission in the world to turn to the pressing questions of justice. The banquet we share in our liturgical context is to challenge us to live

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be in a position to purify the liturgy. At the same time liturgy can give back to ethics that eschatological vision, which has it, lost and which energises Christian life and inspires Christian mission.

<sup>23</sup> N. BERDYAEV, *The Destiny of Man*, New York, 1960, p. 125.

<sup>24</sup> N. BERDYAEV, *The Destiny of Man*, pp. 123-127.

<sup>25</sup> L.M. CHAUVENT, *symbol and Sacrament*, p. 260.

<sup>26</sup> M. T. LYSAGHT, "Witnessing Christ in Their Bodies: Martyrs and Ascetics as Doxological Disciples, in *The Annual Society of Christian Ethics*, Vol. 20 (2000) 239 - 262, p. 241.

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out this banquet everyday.

The liturgical context provides the model of love to be expressed in justice for the rest of our lives. Liturgical celebration confers grace of a new identity as a Christian relationship. It is an occasion for the believer to become a better Christian in a deeper way in a network of relationship. It is eschatological in nature because it has to be realised in ethical practice. Here the grace becomes a task to be accomplished.<sup>27</sup> We learn to receive ourselves from God as sons and daughters and thus from others as brothers and sisters. As Chauvet mentions that it is an occasion of self - reception, a reception one's self identity in the community: one's relationship of son or daughter of God vertically and his/her relationship of brother sister horizontally.<sup>28</sup> Liturgical celebration is a task for the believer, a fundamental work of reconstructing his/her relationship with God and others. As a result one cannot be indifferent to the needs of the society in which s/he lives. At the same time care must be taken that Christians must not place extreme emphasis on the celebrational aspect at

the expense of ethical dimensions and ethical aspect at the expense of celebrational realm.

Hauerwas argues that Christian ethics has no substance apart from its participation in a "storied community" a community where the story is not merely told but embodied in a people's habits that form and are formed in worship, governance, and morality.<sup>29</sup> The first task of the Church is to live the truth of its identity in God through Christ, thus helping the world to know it is the world. God acts through such community on behalf of the world to create a space and time in which we might have a foretaste of the Kingdom.<sup>30</sup> Liturgical celebrations of sacraments and prayers, preaching integrate Christian into God's life as Christ's body. He thinks: "immersion in the daily practices of the Christian church: prayer, worship, admonition, feeding the hungry, caring for the sick transform over time to participate in God's life. So we become full members in a city ordered to peace."<sup>31</sup> Consequently "liturgy is not a motive for social, it is not a cause to effect. "Liturgy is social action".<sup>32</sup> In this sense

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If we cannot describe theologically and ethically the significance of our liturgical celebration and other common activities of our life, we will distort what we do by having to resort to descriptions and explanations all provided by our culture. Hauerwas calls it us uncritical use of the social - scientific paradigms, because when these are applied rigorously and consistently, methodologically preclude the theological claims necessary for the Church's intelligibility.<sup>34</sup> It does not mean that we deny the value of sociological, psychological, and general social scientific accounts of our communities. The systematic use of social sciences inspire the participants in the process of listening and allow them to tell their own stories.

## Conclusion

We can find other relationships between liturgy and ethics: liturgy as motivator of moral behaviour, liturgy can be viewed as the promulgator of moral and ethical politics. Human persons are formed in myriad ways. But in the Christian life, the mystery of redemption in the death and resurrection of Christ is the basis and source of the formation of the person. The orientation and maturation of a Christian believer is never a matter of adopting right behaviour or conforming to a priori systems of rules actions. What is relevant is the detailed analysis and specification of how the context of liturgy rightly prayed and celebrated, is the school of affections, and more specifically what constitutes faithful and unfaithful liturgy in the formation of the christian life. Liturgy needs to be attentive to the needs of the communities it serves. Worshipping communities need to develop a sense of identity and a distinctive openness to otherness. All liturgical participation needs to have both an outward and an inward direction.

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This work is divided into six chapters. **The first chapter** is an introduction and background to the practice of living organ donation and transplantation. Living organ donation may have a positive influence on the social context where organ donors and recipients live. But, at the same time living organ donation reveals that donors can be exploited by middlemen and other persons involved in transplantation. Besides, transplantation is a complex technology and it affects socio-economic factors. **The second chapter** outlines the medical and legal aspects of living organ donation and transplantation. Organ donation and transplant co-ordination in the developed and developing countries indicate an increase in living organ donation and transplantation. The author suggests that living organ donation and transplantation is a valuable option for treatment. This chapter also highlights the legal issues in organ donation and transplantation. **The third chapter** concentrates mainly on the moral theological evaluation of mutilation. In the history of the notion of mutilation, one can see different definitions, divisions and views. He discusses the concepts of intrinsically evil act, and pre-moral evil act in connection with mutilation. **The chapter four** deals with the concept and application of principle of totality and the principle of double effect in living organ donation and transplantation. Moral theologians use the principle of totality and the principle of double effect for the moral justification of mutilation. The author analyzes the historical roots of the principle of totality. He also states a clear concept of the principle of double effect and its application in living organ donation and transplantation. **The fifth chapter** presents a moral theological debate on living organ donation and transplantation. The author specifically examines different moral theological arguments supporting and denying living organ donation and transplantation. **In the final chapter**, the author develops the virtue of charity as the moral justification of living organ donation and transplantation. The author argues that the approach of the virtue of charity may be considered as a viable ethical model for living organ donation and transplantation. Although virtue ethics has recently grown remarkably, it is not so in the area of applied ethics. It is precisely here his work gets its ethical relevance. The author shows the relevance of virtue ethics by applying it to a particular biomedical issue.

Detailed footnote, a large bibliography on the topic and presentation of the Indian transplantation law etc add to the authenticity of the work. In short, the author presents us in a highly interdisciplinary context (medicine, law, psychology, anthropology, and theology) a wonderful contribution to the debate on living organ donation and transplantation. This is a useful guide to all those who work in the field of medicine, law, moral theology and bioethics.

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## **Will Anybody Listen to this SOS?**

The Native Christians of Iraq live between the devil of America and the sea of Islam since two decades. Who will show mercy and do justice to these citizens of Iraq forgotten by the whole world which is after war and terror? These people are being terrorized ever since the first Gulf war. Followers of Islam consider them as friends of Christian (?) America and hence unwelcome in their own country. This tiny minority whose cultural history goes back to more than three thousand years, is disappearing and the whole world is watching without any sympathy! Let the followers of Islam protect these innocent people who believe in one and the same God of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Let the Muslims realize that these Christians too are the children of Abraham! Let the Christians of the West be a little more concerned about their own Christian faith and be conscious of the fact that Iraq received Christian faith from apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ in the earliest period of its existence. It will be a tragic loss to human civilization if Christians were to disappear in Mesopotamia the Mother of All Cultures! Remember that the Iraqi Christians and Jesus shared the same Aramaic dialect! It is the Iraqi Christians who translated Greek philosophy to the Islamic world which in turn brought it to Europe! Now it is the turn of Europe to give something in return. European Crusades brought only disaster to the native Mesopotamian Christians. So too the recent conflicts led by the American interests. A friendly solution from every side is the need of the hour.

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May the good Lord enable His Holiness to guide the Church of the Messiah in the light of the Good News.

## **Will Anybody Listen to this SOS?**

The Native Christians of Iraq live between the devil of America and the sea of Islam since two decades. Who will show mercy and do justice to these citizens of Iraq forgotten by the whole world which is after war and terror? These people are being terrorized ever since the first Gulf war. Followers of Islam consider them as friends of Christian (?) America and hence unwelcome in their own country. This tiny minority whose cultural history goes back to more than three thousand years, is disappearing and the whole world is watching without any sympathy! Let the followers of Islam protect these innocent people who believe in one and the same God of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Let the Muslims realize that these Christians too are the children of Abraham! Let the Christians of the West be a little more concerned about their own Christian faith and be conscious of the fact that Iraq received Christian faith from apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ in the earliest period of its existence. It will be a tragic loss to human civilization if Christians were to disappear in Mesopotamia the Mother of All Cultures! Remember that the Iraqi Christians and Jesus shared the same Aramaic dialect! It is the Iraqi Christians who translated Greek philosophy to the Islamic world which in turn brought it to Europe! Now it is the turn of Europe to give something in return. European Crusades brought only disaster to the native Mesopotamian Christians. So too the recent conflicts led by the American interests. A friendly solution from every side is the need of the hour.

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